

The Leader

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—HUMBOLDT'S COSMOS.

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News of the Week.

RATHER a miscellaneous week in Parliament opened with the adoption of the Ministerial demand for the continuation of the income tax, unimproved. Mr. Herries moved the amendment desired at the Protectionist meeting in Lord Stanley's house; on the motion to go into committee of the whole to grant the tax as before, he proposed to abate the amount of the tax; as the loss of revenue, which it was intended to cure, is met by increasing revenue—in other words, to use the surplus towards the diminution and ultimate abrogation of the income tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stuck to his argument, that the tax is still necessary to cover the further measures in completion of the Free Trade policy; and he urged the old "difficulties" against improving the mode of levying the tax. The vote was a mere party vote—"Liberal" against Protectionist; and the Protectionist offer was rejected by 278 to 230. The speech of Mr. Thomas Baring indicates more than a Conservative sympathy with the Protectionists—it attests the feeling against the tax in the City. But Lord John Russell knows that his seat is already forfeited.

On the question of church rates they have been more flexible, and the Premier has assented to Mr. Trevelyan's motion for a committee. Why there should be a committee we can scarcely guess; since church rates are a subject tolerably well known to us; at least to those who are old enough to remember Charles Childs of Bungay. But perhaps the committee may be granted for the use of the rising generation? In most cases, to refer a subject to a committee is to bury it in a blue book; and there is the greater chance of that result now, since there is no present agitation on the subject; but we see some probability that it will become a matter of active agitation; and then the blue book will be an opportune contribution.

The bishops and the clergy are doing their best to give the subject of Church temporalities a new importance. We saw lately the quieting address issued by the twenty-four prelates to the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York, and we now see the nullity of effect produced by that document. The same discords continue in the Church without the slightest abatement; quite the contrary. At Leeds, five clergymen leave the Church of England for that of Rome; but the Church sustained a more grievous loss in the single person of Archdeacon Manning, who was removed into the Roman Church, on Sunday last, in London. The loss of so distinguished a person has caused no small consternation among the far-seeing members of the laity.

At Rochester occurs another mischievous incident: Mr. Blew, the vicar, writes to Cardinal Wiseman, disclaiming the virulent sentiments expressed by so many Protestants; some person draws the

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attention of the bishop to that fact, but he takes no notice; his attention is again drawn, through Lord Ashley, and then the bishop suspends Mr. Blew from his clerical functions for six months. Meanwhile, the suspended clergyman continues his activity in the parish as the guide, philosopher, and friend, the dispenser of charity to the poor. In Rochester, therefore, the Church stands in the most unfortunate position—the bishop first trying to avoid the exercise of authority, next enforcing his power on the suggestion of a particular party in the Church, and finally placing that party and the ecclesiastical government in antagonism to a parish clergyman who impersonates active piety.

The Bishop of Rochester is not alone in his embarrassments. The churchwarden of St. Ann's, Soho, has been corresponding with the Bishop of London, and trying to extort authority to settle the disastrous state of affairs in that parish. The annual expenditure of the church amounts to £340, the income to £80; and the number of the congregation seems to be progressively diminishing—a consequence of Puseyite practices. The Bishop declines to interfere; and within the limits of the address lately issued we do not see on what ground he could very well interfere. Meanwhile, however, the church interest in this parish goes to ruin.

These incidents are not more calamitous than that which witnessed in the church at Brighton, where, in the exercise of rubrical rigour, the Reverend Arthur Wagner aroused the parental anxieties of Lord Lonsborough, and practically repelled the peer's first-born from baptism under pain of a cold shower-bath, which might have been very injurious if not fatal.

Many sincere friends of the Church cast all the blame of these detrimental scenes on the Puseyite party; but we cannot do so. We cannot withhold from that party the same credit for honest motives which is claimed by the three or four hundred thousand persons who have just approached the Throne, through the address promoted by Lord Ashley and others, asking for effectual interference. The Puseyites are really less antagonistic than the others: they entertain strong opinions on the subject of regular and emphatic manner in religious observances: but, content to illustrate their own views in practice, they have made no systematic attempt to cast out the Ultra-Evangelical party which so strangely remains within the Establishment. Meanwhile, the Crown has referred the Ashley address to the Bishops, who will be obliged to rediscuss the subject. The desideratum, if it were possible, is some enunciation of principles broad enough to embrace diversities of opinion, and yet so positively enunciated, illustrated and enforced as to impart life, once more, to the discipline, practice, and influence of the Church. How the events of the week illustrate this want!

Lord Ashley is best employed in such practical, legislative Good-Christianity as engaged him on Tuesday, in advancing his bill "to encourage the

construction of lodgings for the working classes." Our readers know how much such a measure is needed, to support and extend the utility of those philanthropists who have been before the Legislature, such as the members of the Society for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes.

In the course of this debate Lord Claude Hamilton drew from Mr. Labouchere the statement, that Ministers are considering some measure to render charters of association less expensive. Are Ministers in friendly communication with Mr. Slaney on that subject? They should be so. In passing, let us note, for the edification of many friends, the progress which the principle of association has made, now that it is becoming, however humbly at first, a commonplace in debate and legislation. Some have doubted the policy of lending to the associative mission the impulse of a political infusion: we point to the passing facts.

Sir William Molesworth's proposal to save £1,600,000 a-year on the military expenditure for our Colonies "properly so called," was met by Ministers, with Whig faith, as a proposal to relinquish our Colonial empire.

Government has been in sharp contest with London City, and the Commons have decided by 246 to 124 not to "enlarge," but, by 230 to 65, to "remove" Smithfield Market. The scheme of the Corporation would have effected a very great combined improvement—reorganizing the market, routing out the "bad neighbourhood" west of the market, and establishing model lodging-houses in lieu of the bad neighbourhood; if sanctioned by Parliament, it would have been accomplished. The Government scheme is more thoroughgoing, and Ministers are pledged by their victory not to leave it a mere paper project.

Some curiosity was felt as to the reception which Ministers would have at the City dinner on Wednesday, after the Smithfield contest: there was no breach of the say-nothing decorum; and the only incident worth note was the anticipative welcome offered to those foreigners whose aggregation in London during the summer causes so much alarm to the Republican editor of the *New York Herald* and the Democratic proprietor of a London paper!

The most startling piece of foreign news comes this week—from Spain! There has been "a storm in a teapot"; an angry discussion in the Cortes respecting the new arrangement of the national debt, and Ministers have resorted to that *ultima ratio* of men in power—they have dissolved the Chamber. The reelection must take place within three months. Till then the debt will be laid to sleep—previously to its final repudiation.

Prussia and all her retinue of helpless Princes—with the Hanse Towns, and other of the minor German States—have seized upon the happy idea of a restoration of the Diet with an almost ludicrous alacrity. The three years' revolution of Germany is, then, to be considered "all a mistake." If the German people put up with such a finale they will deserve

to be designated as the buffalo in the European Menagerie—formidable to its keeper if it knew its own strength, but docile enough when you have succeeded in driving an iron ring through its nose.

To undo revolutions is now the great work throughout Europe. Denmark is busy resettling its household on its hybrid old plan. Wurtemberg sweeps off its Constitutional Chambers, and calls together the States of 1819; and Hesse Cassel seems bent on driving the whole population out of the country. Since none but the "loyal" are left at peace, and we know of no one entitled to that appellation, save only the Elector himself and his Sancho Panza Hassenpflug.

Still, what country can keep up with France, whether the movement be backward or forward? There "Order" is a monomania. Louis Napoleon has built no Cabinet as yet; but he has shaken hands with Changarnier: President, General-in-Chief, old and new Ministers, all are laying their heads together to find out the means by which "anarchy" may be efficiently put down. To hear of the disinterestedness and self-denial of all parties, in the furtherance of this noble end, is quite edifying and consoling.

There is order in Italy also, with the exception of a few highway robberies, plundering of diligences, and stoppage of mails in the Papal States; order at Naples, especially, with 40,000 men drawn up in the streets of the capital, and long strings of patriots promenading from one end of the kingdom to another, startling the very gendarmes who have them in their charge by the atrocity of their sufferings and the fortitude with which they bear them.

A large sprinkling of murders and violences, especially towards women, spices the journalism of the week; but among the most revolting acts is one not usually reckoned on the criminal side: we allude to the *sort* of evidence advanced to prove adultery against the wife in the case of Gaisford *versus* Karr. Circumstances were dragged to the public notice which ought to be sacred. It betrays a very low moral sense when any expectation of advantage, any hope of revenge, or any other motive whatsoever, can induce a man to raise the veil of modesty, especially from a woman who has once admitted him to her affection; most especially when that woman has incurred the censure of the world.

PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

After all that was said about Mr. Herries's motion the debate on Monday evening was rather a dull affair. The question that the report of the Committee of Ways and Means on the following resolution be received having been moved:—

"That, towards raising the supply granted to her Majesty, the respective duties in Great Britain on profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices, and the stamp duties in Ireland, granted by two acts passed in the sixth year of her present Majesty, and which have been continued and amended by several subsequent acts, shall be further continued for a time to be limited."

Mr. HERRIES moved by way of amendment:—

"That it is the opinion of this House that 'the respective duties in Great Britain on profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices, and the stamp duties in Ireland, granted by two acts passed in the sixth year of her present Majesty, and which have been continued and amended by several subsequent acts,' were granted for limited periods and to meet temporary exigencies; that it is highly expedient to adhere to the declared intentions of Parliament when these duties were granted and continued; and, in order to secure their speediest practicable cessation, to limit the renewal of any portion of them to such an amount as may be sufficient in the existing state of the public revenue, to provide for the expenditure sanctioned by Parliament, and for the due maintenance of public credit."

He began by expressing his satisfaction at the improvement in the last quarter's revenue returns. "He rejoiced in the prosperity of the country, as to which he had never entertained any doubt or anxiety; he rejoiced in that prosperity for the sake of his country; and he rejoiced at it, in that it added force and weight to the proposal he had to make." His proposal was not one involving the question of free trade and protection, it was "a question of good faith, honesty, and sound policy." He would not enter into any discussion with the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to estimates of expenditure or income, with this single alteration, that, instead of putting the probable surplus of the current year at £1,890,000, he would call it £2,200,000, or £2,300,000. The best thing they could do with such a surplus was to reduce the income tax. That tax had been imposed for a temporary purpose, and nearly all the members of the present administration had recorded their objections to it as a permanent impost. In 1842 they denounced the tax as "monstrously unequal," "exceedingly oppressive," "vexatious, fraudulent, and in-

quisitorial," and therefore he called upon them now to assist him in taking the first step towards its abolition. The only justification for the tax was that it was a temporary measure, intended to meet a great emergency. That emergency no longer existed. Ministers had a large surplus at their disposal, and could easily reduce the tax with a view to its total and speedy abolition. If the House assented to the resolution of the Chancellor of the Exchequer the country was doomed to bear the income tax for an indefinite period; "but if they determined to adopt the more just, the more honest, as well as the more politic course, which he recommended, the income tax was doomed to a speedy extinction." Sir CHARLES WOOD admitted that he had opposed the imposition of the income tax in 1842, on the grounds upon which it was brought forward, but he distinctly stated at that time that if the tax had been proposed to enable the Government to get rid of the great monopolies of sugar, timber, and corn, he would have supported it. When Sir Robert Peel proposed its renewal in 1845, "for the purpose of carrying through a great experiment in taxation," he (Sir Charles Wood) supported him on that occasion. Mr. Herries seemed to suppose that the proposal which he (Sir Charles) had made was for a permanent income tax, whereas he had never said a syllable to that effect. He did not think it safe that a tax of this kind should be placed upon the footing of an annual vote; but Mr. Herries was not precluded from proposing its reduction next year. He showed the difficulties attending a modification of the tax, and the injustice of applying it, as Mr. Herries suggested, to Ireland; and then entered into details as to the policy he had pursued in reducing duties upon articles of consumption and upon industry, observing that the more popular a tax was the more productive it would prove. Under the income tax the revenue had, by a wise legislation, greatly improved, and by a perseverance in this legislation, the removal of taxes more objectionable than the income tax, the improvement of the revenue would be accelerated. It was in furtherance of this theory of legislation that he had proposed the reduction of the duties upon coffee and timber, and substituted a house-tax for the window duty. He had been charged with having withdrawn a boon he had offered to the agricultural interest; but the repeal of the duty on seeds had been denounced, and the relief in the matter of pauper lunatics was less than the gain by the commutation of the window duty. In conclusion, he insisted that the proposal of Mr. Herries was really the first step in the policy of Lord Stanley, who had therein shadowed forth a duty upon corn; and he called upon the House to vote, not a permanent income tax, but a tax for three years, for objects conducive to the best interests of the country. Mr. PAISLEY observed that the Government were always in difficulty whether there was a surplus or a deficiency, because they had to deal with taxation, and as they had not any fixed principles they were like a ship at sea without compass. He denied that the Budget was founded upon the principle professed by the Government, the benefit of the mass of the population—it was class relief. He condemned upon principle a tax upon property, and, objecting altogether to the propositions of the Government, he should vote for the motion of Mr. Herries. Mr. FREDERICK PEEL was favourable to the principle of an income tax, "because it combined a system of direct with indirect taxation, which he thought was the best means of making the wealthier classes contribute in a manner proportioned to their means to the revenue to the state." He was aware of the immense advantages which the labouring classes had derived from our late commercial and financial system, and of the stimulus given to industry by the removal of duties which weighed upon the sources of employment. In nine years, taxes upon home manufactures, raw materials, and food, to the amount of £10,500,000, had been remitted, and yet the gross produce of the Customs and Excise, instead of showing any decrease, showed an increase of £1,200,000 in 1842 over 1850. The effect of those commercial reforms had been equally manifest in the improvement of trade. The declared value of British exports, which had been nearly stationary from 1835 to 1842, had rapidly increased from £52,250,000 in 1843 to more than £71,000,000 in 1850. There still remained, however, a large amount of indirect taxation which pressed upon the productive classes, and the inference was that, if £5,000,000 was not raised by direct taxation, the Legislature must in effect revert to the system of protection which had so long obstructed the development of our resources. Mr. Herries had alleged that the faith of Parliament was pledged to discontinue this tax after a limited period; but he (Mr. Peel) took a preliminary objection to Parliament entering into a compact of this kind. The policy of 1841, under which the income tax had been imposed, was to remove duties more vexatious than that tax; this policy had not been brought to a conclusion, and he could not, therefore, vote for the removal of the tax. He did not approve altogether of the financial scheme:—

"At the same time, believing that there was open be-

fore them a long career of progress in that path of social improvement upon which they had entered, he should be most loth and most reluctant to abandon that instrument by which so much good had been effected. (Hear, hear.) His belief was that, if further good were really to be accomplished, it must be by the retention of the income tax. (Hear, hear.) He allowed that there had been a great pressure upon the Government, but he could not say that they had made the best use of the opportunity for the reimposition of the income tax. That task would not have been a difficult one. They would have had but to follow out upon a larger, a broader, and a more comprehensive scale, the principles of the system, commercial and financial, which was inaugurated in the year 1842. Had they done so, they would have found now, as then, that they would have opened up new channels for the industry of the country, have brought within the reach of the poor an increased amount of the comforts of life, and have diffused peace and contentment over the country, such as would have ranged the working classes on the side of order and good government, and have given increased strength and stability to its institutions, which he (Mr. Peel) valued, not for themselves, but for the advantages and blessings which they enjoyed under them. (Cheers.)

Mr. T. BARING, in supporting the amendment, expressed his belief that the reduction of the income tax would be better even for the masses than the removal of the window duty. The evidence of the returns under schedule D showed that it was the honest men who paid the tax while the dishonest escaped.

"It was his fortune to belong to the commercial class and he could not look at the returns made under schedule D without being convinced that the grossest frauds were committed. (Hear, hear.) It appeared from the returns that since 1846 there had been a diminution under schedule D of £6,000,000, and since the year when the tax was first proposed there had been a diminution of £8,000,000. This result placed the Chancellor of the Exchequer in this dilemma—either the recent commercial policy had failed to increase the profits of trade and the incomes derived from professions, or the greatest frauds were practised. (Hear, hear.)"

Mr. JAMES WILSON quoted an immense number of statistical tables to show that the trade and commerce of the country have been improving much more rapidly since 1842 than they did during any similar period previously. He went on to argue that the population depending upon land was diminishing, that the surplus population depended upon manufactures, and that it was, therefore, the interest of the country to remove impediments from that part of the national industry; while a duty of five shillings upon corn, either for protection or for revenue, was open to serious objection. Mr. BOOKER urged upon the House the deep responsibility it would incur by giving to the Government the means of pursuing a suicidal policy, in the reimposition of an iniquitous tax, which bore with peculiar severity upon the middle class. He protested against the doctrine that the greatness of England depended solely upon her commerce. While emigration was going on to a vast extent, production was increasing, which must not be put down to human labour, but to the enormous increase of mechanical power. Mr. SLANEY, though concerned by birth and attachments with agriculture, could not support the amendment. The best security for the national revenue was the diminution of the weight of taxation upon the body of the people. Since the war there had been reduced forty millions of taxes, chiefly upon manufacturing materials, and upon articles of necessary consumption; and the result had been such an advance of national prosperity that the national property, real and personal, had since 1815 absolutely doubled itself. Mr. SPOONER and Mr. REYNOLDS both supported the amendment. Lord HAMILTON said the real question at issue was whether the tax should be permanent.

"He wished to ask the well drilled benches opposite whether they meant by their vote to-night to sacrifice the permanence of the tax, and whether they did not believe that if they voted it to-night the Chancellor of the Exchequer would three years hence call upon them to vote it again. (Hear, hear.) That was the real question they had to determine in considering whether they would reimpose a tax which had been more eloquently denounced by those who now proposed it than by any other people in the House. (Hear.) If they were going to do a thing at all, let them do it openly, fairly, and professedly, but don't let the Government impose, under the name of a temporary tax, what they in their hearts felt must be permanent. He rejoiced that the window tax was condemned. If the majority should determine the division in favour of the Government, then let the Government come forward and say that what was to be permanent should be equitable."

Mr. SHARMAN CRAWFORD having declared his intention to vote with Mr. Herries, and Sir ROBERT LONNAN spoken on the other side, the House divided, and the numbers were:—

For the amendment	230
Against it	278
Majority	48

The resolution of the committee for the renewal of the income tax was then agreed to, and it was arranged that the debate upon Mr. Disraeli's motion, for relief to the owners and occupiers of land, should be resumed on Friday, on the motion for the commutation of the window duty for the house tax.

The question of church rates was brought forward in the House of Commons on Tuesday by Mr. TREVELLANT, who moved for a select committee to consider the law relating to this vexatious burden. In England the law of church rates rests upon the two Braintree cases, from which it appears to be established that the minority of the ratepayers may impose a rate upon the majority. In Ireland they had got rid of several bishoprics, and had abolished church rates, making the repairs of the churches a charge upon all ecclesiastical benefices. That was a precedent for what he proposed. Mr. HARDCASTLE, who seconded the motion, considered that the laying of the church rate upon Dissenters was pretty much akin to persecution. Lord JOHN RUSSELL agreed that it was highly desirable that some attempt should be made to settle the church rate question, and, therefore, he gave his willing assent to the motion. Sir ROBERT BENTINCK did not object to the appointment of a committee, because it did not pledge the House to a particular course of action, but he denied that the law regarding church rates was uncertain. Since the decision in the Braintree case he believed that no question of law had been more satisfactorily settled than that of church rates. Mr. BRIGHT said the law on this question was very like the Duke of Wellington's description of martial law—it was no law at all.

"Hardly any two lawyers in the kingdom would give the same opinion upon a point relating to church rates. This might be a reason for the appointment of a committee. But he was not very sanguine that this committee would do what was right to be done; and, in truth, no committee was needed, for almost every one was convinced that it would be better for all parties if church rates did not exist at all. Good churchmen—the really pious men who wanted to live in harmony with their neighbours, loving their own faith, and desiring that every one should follow his faith, and that all should observe the holy precepts set forth for us in the New Testament—such churchmen, who might be counted by thousands in the church—(hear, hear)—would be thoroughly glad if this question was settled for ever. (Hear, hear) Why could it not be? It was but a question involving some £200,000 or £250,000 a-year. In Manchester there had been no church rate for fifteen years; it had been refused; but there had been an optional rate collected—those paying who liked. It might be said the great bulk did not like—(a laugh)—taxes were not agreeable things, especially to men who did not get an advantage from paying them. But would it have been a good thing for the church that, during the last fifteen years, there should have been contests upon this question? Had it not been far better that it was allowed to drop, the contributions of those who were willing to pay being taken?"

The motion was agreed to, after a few remarks in favour of it from Mr. HEYWORTH, Mr. LENNARD, Mr. COWAN, and Mr. A. B. HOPE. The latter said he did not regard church rates as the immutable foundation of his faith; but, although he thought it desirable that this question should be investigated, he did not consider a committee of that House the best machinery to investigate any question connected with the ecclesiastical affairs of his or any other religious denomination.

The evils of the laissez faire system were forcibly exhibited by Lord ASHLEY, in moving for leave to bring in a bill to encourage the construction of lodging-houses for the working-classes. This, he said, was a question of vital importance to these classes; he had studied the subject for many years, and the result of his experience was, that very great evils existed which might be much mitigated. He described the condition of the stationary and of the migratory classes of the poor; drawing a fearful picture of the overcrowded dormitories in certain localities in the metropolis—receptacles, he observed, where nine-twentieths of its crimes were hatched, and diseases were engendered and propagated. The haunts to which the migratory class resorted were still worse; fifty-eight persons, of both sexes and of all ages, had been found herding together in a single room, breathing a pestiferous atmosphere, and swarming with vermin. This state of things was not confined to London; almost all the great towns, as he showed, exhibited similar horrors, and it involved the welfare of the whole community, for these receptacles were the hotbeds of fever and cholera. Lord Ashley explained the main provisions of the bill, which would be permissive only, and then anticipated objections to his proposal. One objection was that there would be an increase of rent, which working people could not pay; but he answered, first, that superior health and increased diligence would enable them to pay a higher rent; but, secondly, the experiment of the model houses showed that comfortable habitations might be provided at a diminished rent, especially after the repeal of the brick and window duties. He demonstrated that the construction of these houses was largely remunerative, so much so that he was sure if the expense of charters was reduced, with limited liability, building associations would be formed among the working classes themselves. We had never tested the energy and capacity of those classes, and this bill was intended to remove the fatal impediments to their exercise, by improving their domiciliary condition. Mr. SHAWNE said there were thousands of persons all over

the country who were anxious to unite for the purpose of establishing model lodging-houses, but were deterred from doing so lest they should bring themselves within the law of partnership, and become liable to the whole amount of their fortunes. That obstacle to improvement ought to be removed. The health of the working man was his property. Let them watch over it as they watched over the property of every other class in the kingdom, and they would be repaid with gratitude. Mr. HUME, while supporting the motion, ascribed the miseries of our working classes to our institutions, and to the inattention of the Government to the instruction of the masses. We should legislate for the intellectual as well as the physical wants of the people. Sir GEORGE GREY believed that the statements of Lord Ashley were too true as to the state of things that prevailed in large towns from the ill-constructed, ill-ventilated houses, destructive alike of the physical health and of the morality of the working classes; but the House must suspend its judgment of the bill of the noble lord until it was before them. He understood it to be perfectly permissive, and to be framed on the model of the Baths and Washhouses Act:—

"But they must not look to measures of this kind alone to remove all the evils, and he believed the noble lord indicated means by which still greater good could be attained than by this bill, namely, that of encouraging associations for the purpose of removing the obstacles that now existed in the way of fiscal arrangements for carrying out the object in view. A difficulty had occurred, as had been stated by his honourable friend behind him, in consequence of the law of partnerships; but a committee sat upon that subject last year, and another committee had been appointed this year, to inquire into it, and the subject also of the expense of charters for such associations was now under the consideration of the Government."

Lord CLAUDE HAMILTON complained of the great cost of charters for associations, such as would be required before lodging-houses could be built by combined subscription. Mr. LABOUCHERE stated that the subject was already under consideration, and a correspondence was now pending with the Treasury, which he trusted would result in a very considerable diminution in the expense of obtaining charters of association.

Leave was then given to bring in the bill.

A short discussion on the state of Ireland, altogether unworthy of so important a question, took place in the House of Commons, on Tuesday evening. Sir H. BARRON moved that the House resolve itself into a committee with a view to relieve the distress there existing. In describing the condition of the Irish peasantry, he compared the position of that country in 1845 and at the present time, tracing its distress to three main causes—the famine, the change in the corn law, and the disastrous poor-law, expatiating upon the character and effects of this law, which he represented as increasing, not diminishing, pauperism. Meanwhile taxation was augmenting, corn tillage was decreasing, as well as the export of swine, so that the value of produce exported was £8,000,000 less in 1849 than in 1845; landed property was selling at fourteen and even twelve years' purchase, and house property had fallen sixty per cent. The distress now witnessed was unknown in that House, and deemed incredible by Englishmen; but he attributed it altogether to bad legislation. On another side he found that crimes against property had swollen fourfold, as exhibited by the returns of committals; that the customs receipts had diminished, and the circulating medium of commerce enormously contracted. He called on the Legislature to examine into the causes of this wretched and impoverished condition of Ireland, and on the Ministry to provide a remedy; if they would not, by confessing their impotence, and acknowledge themselves unfit to hold the reins of Government. Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN, who seconded the motion, added a variety of instances to show the exorbitant increase in the number and cost of Irish paupers.

Sir WILLIAM SOMERVILLE admitted that the country was far from prosperous, but pauperism had diminished, the area of cultivated land somewhat enlarged, and the exports of certain descriptions also increased. Emigration, which was now quoted as a symptom of misgovernment, had often been praised in that House, and its encouragement enjoined upon the Ministry as one of their chief duties. The last returns of criminal offences corroborated the inferences drawn from the accounts of pauperism and produce, and showed, like them, that the tide of amelioration had begun to flow. To the complaints that Ireland had been neglected by the Legislature, he replied, by pointing to the fact, that, since 1840, thirteen commissions had issued, and sixty-three committees of Lords and Commons had sat to inquire into all sorts of social and political questions relating to that country. He hoped that the motion would be negatived. It was calculated to excite false hopes, and could result in no practical advantages. Mr. M. J. O'CONNELL declared his intention to vote for the committee, but, at the same time, declared his conviction that any retrograde steps, either with the poor law or the corn law, would prove most disastrous to Ireland. Mr. SHARMAN CRAWFORD proposed to amend the resolution by adding a sentence direct-

ing the investigations of the committee towards the present landlord and tenant law. Lord JOHN opposed the motion on the ground that a committee to consider the whole tangled question of the condition of Ireland must be totally unavailing. The House having divided, the numbers were:—

For the motion 129
Against it 138

Majority 9

The Smithfield Enlargement Bill was thrown out, on its second reading, on Wednesday, by a majority of 246 against 124. Mr. WAKLEY, Sir JAMES DUKER, Sir C. KNIGHTLEY, Mr. K. SEYMER, Mr. S. WORTLEY, Mr. ALDERMAN SIDNEY, and Mr. STAFFORD, all spoke in favour of the Corporation bill. Mr. HUME thought that it should be referred to the committee on the Smithfield-market Removal Bill. The simple question was, which of the two plans, looking at the evidence, was preferable. Lord JOHN RUSSELL said it was his duty, as a Member of that House, if the interests of his constituents did not coincide with those of the kingdom at large, to prefer the latter. The question was not as to two competing schemes, but whether Smithfield-market should be removed from its present site to another to be selected by commissioners. With an increasing population, it would be almost impossible to enlarge the present area sufficiently without destroying valuable property, a sacrifice to be compensated by an increase of tolls. This was part of a great public question, affecting the health of 2,500,000 of the community. The Corporation measure having been disposed of, Mr. C. LEWIS moved the second reading of the Smithfield-market Removal Bill. Various explanations were asked and given upon the subject of this bill, against which a protest was entered by Mr. S. WORTLEY, on the ground that it transferred to the Crown a chartered right of the city of London. A division having taken place, the second reading was carried by 230 against 65. Upon the question that the bill be referred to a select committee, Mr. HUME complained that the Corporation had not a fair hearing, and protested against depriving the city of the management of its own affairs, and giving it to commissioners paid by public money. Lord JOHN RUSSELL affirmed that Government had only the public advantage in view. Sir H. WILLOUGHBY characterized the bill, which took away chartered rights without compensation, as a direct act of confiscation. Mr. S. WORTLEY inquired whether the city could by counsel oppose the bill? The Speaker replied in the affirmative. Some further discussion took place, and the bill was ultimately referred to a select committee.

The large question of colonial expenditure was brought under discussion on Thursday, by Sir WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, in moving the following resolutions:—

"1. That it is the opinion of this House that steps should be taken to relieve this country, as speedily as possible, from its present civil and military expenditure on account of the colonies, with the exception of its expenditure on account of military stations or convict settlements. 2. That it is expedient at the same time to give to the inhabitants of the colonies which are neither military stations nor convict settlements ample powers for their local self-government, and to free them from that Imperial interference with their affairs which is inseparable from their present military occupation."

One of his chief reasons for asking the House to reconsider this subject was the strong desire which existed amongst various classes to repeal certain onerous taxes. That could not be done without a large reduction of the national expenditure, and the only direction in which that could be effected, without injury either to the colonies or to Great Britain, was in our colonial expenditure. He went on to show that in 1846-7 (since which time there are no complete returns) the whole colonial military expenditure amounted to £4,000,000. At that time the military force in the colonies amounted to 45,727, and the question for them to consider was whether they require to maintain so large a force at the expense of this country:—

"Great Britain had long been, and, in the opinion of its statesmen, of its Parliament, and its people, ought to continue to be essentially a naval power; it aspired to be the first naval power on the earth, to carry on commerce in every portion of the globe, and to protect that commerce with its fleets. It desired that those fleets should patrol the ocean, and be the maritime police of mankind. In order to refit those fleets, to afford shelter to them, and to give protection to its merchant ships when war was raging, it had been the policy of the statesmen of England, with the consent and approbation of the people and Parliament, to take military possession of harbours in various parts of the world. (Hear, hear.) Assuming this policy to be a sound one, he asked what were the rates which should determine the number of our military stations and the selection of their sites? (Hear, hear.) He thought the rule should be that, subject to the condition of accomplishing the objects of the naval policy of Great Britain, our military stations should be as few in number as possible, and that each station should be selected so as to cost as little as possible. They should be as few in number as possible, for every military station must cost a considerable sum of money annually; therefore, ever superfluous military station was a permanent source of unnecessary expense; it was also a source of weakness, for an empire was strong, ceteris paribus, in

proportion as it had few points to defend, for the fewer points it had to defend, the more it could concentrate its forces, and therefore the more powerful it was either for defence or offence. Therefore he considered the true policy of this country, with regard to military stations, was to occupy only a few commanding positions, with good harbours. They should be small, isolated, salient spots, easily defended, and close to the beaten paths of the ocean. He thought that, amongst our military stations, those which best fulfilled the conditions of good military stations were Gibraltar at the mouth of the Mediterranean, Malta near its centre, Bermuda in Mid-Atlantic, Halifax commanding the coast of North America, Barbadoes among the islands of the West Indies, the Peninsula extremity of South Africa on the route to India, the Mauritius on the same road, and commanding the Persian Gulf, Singapore at the entrance of the Chinese seas, and perhaps Hong Kong amidst those seas. He had named these eight stations, because he was inclined to believe that it was not necessary for the attainment of the object of the naval policy of Great Britain that we should keep military possession of more than these eight stations. To garrison them as they were garrisoned in 1846-7, a military force of 17,000 men would be sufficient, and they would cost about £850,000 in effective military expenditure."

If our colonies were governed as they ought to be, no troops ought to be maintained in them at the expense of the United Kingdom, except for strictly Imperial purposes, and the expense of all troops required for local purposes should be paid by the colonists. He then argued that our policy with regard to our colonies had not been a wise one, inasmuch as it had not tended to teach them self-reliance. He examined the course which we had adopted in South Africa, contending that with the termination of each war we had added to our territories, and thus sown the seeds of another war, and declaring that we could never civilize the Kafirs, and that all we could do was to exterminate those upon our frontier. He concluded by moving the resolutions we have quoted. Mr. HAWES moved the previous question. He contended that Sir William Molesworth's plan would reduce our trade with the colonies, and increase that of the United States by twenty-five per cent. Mr. CORDEN, Mr. ADDERLEY, and Mr. URQUHART supported the motion, Mr. E. H. STANLEY opposed it. Lord JOHN RUSSELL contended that the colonies would not remain attached to the mother country when our military establishments for their defence were withdrawn. They must fall into the arms of other countries, and then, when engaged in war, those colonies would become hostile stations. On the motion of Mr. HUME the debate was adjourned to Tuesday.

THE MAYOR'S DINNER TO MINISTERS.

Her Majesty's Ministers, and a number of ladies and gentlemen invited to meet them, dined with the Lord Mayor, at the Mansion-house, on Wednesday. The banquet was in the grand style customary on such occasions. There was a splendid display of plate; the band of the Coldstream Guards, stationed in the gallery, played various marches during dinner; the "loving cup" was sent round; and the usual routine toasts were enthusiastically applauded, as might reasonably be anticipated. Lord John Russell, in acknowledging the toast of "Her Majesty's Ministers," took occasion to recal the condition in which we were placed three years ago:—

"We can all recollect, on the evening previous to that 10th of April, what were the doubts, the misgivings, the fears that there might be some violation of the public peace—fears, even, that there might be loss of life on the ensuing day. But, my Lord Mayor and gentlemen, on the evening of the ensuing day we found ourselves perfectly safe; and safe, not, I will venture to say, on account of the armed force that was in this metropolis—although the armed force, the small armed force, that was in London would, no doubt, have done its duty if there had been occasion for it—but because the people themselves rose—(cheers)—they rose, not to cause, but to prevent, riot and disturbance; they rose, to maintain, and not to subvert, the institutions of the country. (Loud cheers.)"

He then alluded to the great assemblage of foreigners which is likely to take place in London this summer, and expressed his confident belief that they would meet with a cordial reception, and would "have reason to be grateful for the splendid hospitality which is ever exhibited here."

The American Minister, in alluding to the Exhibition, said he was one of those who believed that it was conceived in wisdom, that it has been carried out with energy and judgment, and that those men who conceived it, and who have had the management of it, will have done great honour to themselves, and, when it shall have been finished, brought great glory to England. He had not a doubt but that peace and quiet and goodwill would reign in our borders for six months to come, and that when the great number of foreign visitors shall have gone home they will carry none other than the kindest feelings with them.

Lord Palmerston took an opportunity of saying a few words in praise of the British Parliament, as having nobly done its duty:—

"It is the dispensation of Providence that mankind should be divided into rich and poor—that the rich should be comparatively few, and that the poor should be comparatively many; but, though no human legislation

can alter that arrangement, it is in the power of our lawgivers so to legislate that the poor shall be protected from oppression by the rich, and that the rich shall be defended against violence from the poor. (Cheers.) That duty the Parliament of England has amply and successfully performed, and hence it is that, while we have seen all the nations of Europe convulsed with disorder—while we have seen industry suspended, commerce paralyzed, institutions civil and political overthrown—while we have seen fields that ought to be trod only by the peaceful husbandman beat down by the trampling of the iron heel of armed legions—while we have seen them bathed with the blood of kindred though conflicting armies—the people of this country have exhibited an example of tranquillity, of order, and of obedience to the laws, which, so long as the history of these times shall endure, will command the admiration of mankind. (Cheers.)"

A REVIEW OF CONTINENTAL POLITICS.

Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, had reached Vienna on the 5th instant, on his return from the Adriatic. His reception at Venice, the newspapers say, was very warm and flattering. The poor worn-out, tumble-down city, hopelessly at the mercy of her destroyer, has tried to deprecate her final doom by a very harmless and meaningless clapping of hands. The reward has been the restoration of the free port, intended to prolong for a few years the lingering agony of the commerce of the lagoons.

For the rest, the Emperor visited churches and inspected arsenals. He feasted that poor empty-pated Count of Chambord, and one of the Spanish exiled princes, the Infante Don Juan; Marshal Marmont and M. de Falloux sat at the royal table. Cardinal Bedini hurried from Ferrara to tender the homages of Pope Pius IX. to the mainstay of the Papacy. The Emperor intended to visit Milan, Monza, and Mantua, but changed his mind, probably on hearing that the stiff-necked municipal authorities of Milan tendered their resignation at the bare prospect of having to make their salaam to their imperial master. It was also expected that the Kaiser would travel back to Vienna, touching at Agram and other towns of Croatia; but the late infliction of excise duties on those hitherto free provinces had not tended to prepare the ground for a very enthusiastic welcome.

The youthful autocrat will have found anything but favourable news at Vienna on his return. There is a strong ultramontane feeling abroad,—a longing for the restoration of priestly supremacy in all its unmitigated harshness. The fabric of an Austrian church, reared with so much trouble and peril by Joseph II., is now to be demolished down to the very foundations. There is to be an Emperor above the world and a Pope above the Emperor. Count Leo Thun and other men of that temper carry everything before them in the Austrian Councils. Nothing short of an omnipotent hierarchy and absolute Papal supremacy will satisfy them. The new Marriage Bill is drawn up, and its object is merely to do away with civil marriage at once and for ever.

Meanwhile the discontent throughout the Austrian provinces, especially the Eastern ones, Hungary, Croatia, &c., baffles description. It is in vain that the Government takes heed of the people's material prosperity, hurries on the work of railways (the Hungarian line already reaches Debreczin, and the line between Dresden and Prague was opened on the 6th), promotes agriculture, establishes a uniform system of custom and other duties. Its wisest measures raise as fierce an opposition as the most violent and oppressive ones. In spite of the apparent activity and vitality of the state, it must, also, be confessed, the distress of the people throughout the empire is very great. The depreciation of paper money has caused an alarming rise in the price of provisions. The half million of soldiers are, indeed, well fed; but the rest of the thirty-six millions of the Emperor's subjects are described as struggling hard against want. The deep wounds inflicted on the empire by two or three years riot and civil war begin to tell on the masses, and it will take at least ten years of uninterrupted, wise, and peaceful rule to restore the country to its wonted prosperity.

The Ministers for Trade, Agriculture, Public Works, &c., awaited the Emperor's return with impatience, anxious to submit several measures of vital importance to his approval.

The differences with Prussia, also, have met with a solution which as yet does not seem as favourable to Austria as her friends might have desired. Prussia has come to the determination of restoring the old Frankfort Diet. It was a measure long in contemplation, but seems to have been definitely adopted only in the course of the week. A representative of Prussia is instantly to proceed to Frankfort: M. von Bonin is mentioned by some as the person likely to be charged with the mission; he is the President of the Province of Posen; others suppose Count Bernadotte will be Prussia's representative at Frankfort. The Prussian Government communicated its resolution to the friendly States; most of which, especially the little Thuringian Princes, Saxe-Altenburg, Meiningen, Coburg, Gotha, &c., &c., which were chained to the chariot of Prussia all through the contest, and the Hanse Cities, have agreed to second the movement of their Leader, and have already, in some instances, appointed and despatched their Mi-

nisters to Frankfort. Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and Wurtemberg have not as yet come to any declaration on the subject; but it seems that at Vienna itself the restoration of the Old Diet is viewed with an unfriendly eye, and, in that case, the measure can meet with no serious opposition in any quarter. Count Thun had indeed been summoned from Frankfort to Vienna, and this was looked upon as a protest on the part of Austria against the new Prussian proposal; but the Cabinet of Vienna seem now disposed to view the matter with a favourable eye, and Count Thun is likely to be sent back to his post.

Thus does Germany, after three years of convulsion, find herself precisely at the point she started from. Prussia, who, it is calculated, has sacrificed more than forty millions of thalers in a contest which, but for her irresolution and faintheartedness, would have secured in her favour that supremacy over the destinies of Germany, to which she was so clearly entitled, can find no safe retreat, save only upon the very ground on which Austria had her, and is now surer than ever to have her, at a decided advantage.

It is as yet uncertain whether or not the Dresden conferences will be suffered to continue; though it has long been asserted that Prince Schwarzenberg no longer intends to return to the Saxon capital. But the re-establishment of the Frankfort Diet puts for ever at an end all deliberative power of those conferences, and, if they are indeed any longer to sit, it will only be for form's sake, or at the utmost to tender their advice and suggestions—to make propositions to be submitted to the consideration of the Diet.

If everything turns out as it is now anticipated, Germany will once more have a centre, and Frankfort will again exercise a certain control over its destinies; but, even admitting that all the German States will consent to this backward step, it is difficult to imagine that either the nation or the princes themselves will allow the Diet to pursue the even tenor of its existence on the same smooth and easy terms as it did before the revolution. The great questions which have been debated before the National Assembly, before the Erfurt Congress, before the Dresden Conferences, will now be submitted to the plenipotentiaries of the Diet, and become the subject of endless discussions. Certainly no good can be expected from a body of men working in the dark, and only acting in obedience to the dictates of an old-fashioned and narrow-minded diplomacy. Still the jealousy and ambition of the different parties, the pretensions of Prussia, the arrogant demands of Austria, the new claims of Bavaria and the other royal potentates, will not allow the plenipotentiaries much leisure to doze in their chairs. Moreover, the German people, however egregiously dumb-founded for the present, are not likely to have gone to sleep to all eternity; the same upraised hands and angry voices that scared the old Diet from its residence in 1848, will not fail to come and beset it with pressing and importunate demands. If at the latter named epoch they took it by storm, they will now be satisfied with besieging and blockading it. "What are you doing, what do you intend to do for Fatherland?" Such will be the cry; and, however gagged and fettered, the German press has still power enough to report progress if any is made, or to denounce its rulers' inactivity if they remain stationary.

The French and Prussian papers would lead us to believe that the great project of incorporation of all the non-German provinces of Austria into the German Bund has been altogether abandoned, owing especially to the remonstrances of French and English agents—nominally of Lord Cowley, to Prince Schwarzenberg. So far as we can gather from Austrian and German authorities in general, it would, at any rate, appear that the Austrian Minister stoutly denies the right of any non-German power to interfere in the arrangements to which the members of the German Confederacy may amicably come to between them. We insist upon our assertion that the German people as a mass, and all the German States with the exception of Prussia, will consider the annexation of the Slavonic and Italian Provinces of Austria to their great empire as a consummation highly conducive to their material advantages, and will, to a great extent, be inclined to look upon it as a compensation for the disappointment they have suffered in their expectations of the establishment of liberal institutions amongst them. We shall not be surprised if the plan of incorporation proves to be the very first topic discussed before the Diet on its re-establishment, and if it meet with the approbation of a large majority of the German plenipotentiaries. Nor are we inclined to think that any protest against the scheme on the part of France or England would meet with any serious attention, unless it were backed by the more significant remonstrance of Russia; for to this we are, indeed, come at last, that nothing prevents the absorption of Prussia and of all Germany on the part of Austria; nothing saves us from the formation of an empire that would soon disturb all the balance of power, save only the jealousy of Russia; and the Emperor Nicholas must now be looked upon as the guardian and deliverer of Europe.

The official papers of Denmark publish a series of propositions to be laid before the Chambers of Notables

kingdom. They exhibit the integrity of the monarchy under one Sovereign, and with one diplomatic representation, army and fleet. Holstein and Lauenburg remain part of the German Confederation. Schleswig will have its separate Diet and Administration; and both the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein will enjoy some peculiar and exceptional institutions.

In the expectation of such a new order of things as may be looked for from a restoration of the old Diet, the German sovereigns are fast completing their reactionary work. The King of Wurtemberg, who only a few weeks ago was standing up for the convocation of a German Parliament, is now on the point of abrogating the constitution of his little kingdom, and summing the States according to the law of 1819; and the Elector of Hesse is daily instituting fresh prosecutions against even the most inoffensive public functionaries who were guilty of the great crime of continuing in the discharge of their duties, at the time that the prince himself basely deserted his post.

The failures of Louis Napoleon in forming a new Ministry, recorded by us week after week, have not, it seems, as yet completely discouraged him. The greatest activity has, on the contrary, been displayed at the Elysée, and more than once have the Parisians gone to their night-rest with a conviction that a list of parliamentary Ministers should stare at them from the *Moniteur* on their breakfast-table on the morning. The members of the present Cabinet have kept themselves in readiness for an immediate retreat. They have countermanded soirées, removed their own furniture from their official residences, and to all intents and purposes "shut up shop."

The Ministry, however, had not been formed, up to our time of going to press, and we deem it useless to trouble our readers with the names of Fould, Baroche, Rouher, Benoist d'Azy, Crouzeille, and the others who were expected to take the helm of French Government to the exclusion of the impracticable Odilon Barrot. Some of our daily contemporaries would lead us to believe in a reconciliation between the President of the French Republic and General Changarnier. This news, if confirmed, would go far towards establishing a possibility of a full success of Louis Napoleon's scheme for the prolongation of his powers. Some of his staunch partisans, the Decembrists, have been collecting signatures to a petition either for a revision of the constitution, with a view to legalize a reelection of Louis Napoleon, or otherwise for a postponement of the Presidential election. The Parisian shopkeepers, however, have shown no great eagerness to put their names to paper; they all would be most happy to continue under the rule of a man who has done so much for the cause of order; but evince a proper dread of too barefaced a violation of the laws of the country.

Meanwhile, the Government cannot be said to shirk in its efforts for the maintenance of that order for the sake of which the French have already made such awful sacrifices. The printer and publisher of the speeches and toasts of the French refugees at the banquet of the 24th of February, in London, have been found guilty of sedition by a Paris jury, and condemned, the former to one year, the second to six months' imprisonment, and each of them to a fine of one thousand francs. General Castellane is literally terrorizing Lyons. No man is allowed to purchase firearms in that city without a certificate of good conduct from the police. The armoursers are obliged to remove the locks from the guns and other firearms in their shops. The general gives us, by these precautions, a much clearer insight into the real state of men's minds in that second city of France, than we could find in the most exaggerating newspapers of any party. In fact, news of some terrific émeute at Lyons may startle us at any moment.

The *Moniteur* announces numerous changes in the judicial functionaries throughout the departments. Judges, prefects, priests, or gendarmes; no one can keep his place in France unless he is a Bonapartist. He who is not with me, says the President, is against me.

The news from Italy is of little interest. The dead body of the Passatore has been paraded triumphantly throughout the towns of Romagna. The mother and brothers of the Brigand Chief, however, according to a letter from Bologna, have declared themselves unable to identify the person or recognize the features of their relative. Several men, convicted of having given shelter to him or other bandits, have been shot at Faenza, Imola, and Lugo. Public security is not, for all these executions, restored in the Papal States. The diligence from Rome was stopped and plundered in the neighbourhood of Viterbo on the 27th, and the mail met with a similar accident in Romagna on the 23rd. Paper money to the amount of 100,000 scudi has again been publicly burnt at Rome: letters from that city are full of new political arrests. The Prime Minister of Tuscany, Baldasseroni, is still in deep consultation with the members of the Papal Government. The Tuscans surmise that he is there for no other purpose than to do away with the provident and liberal laws by which the great Tuscan Reformer, Grand Duke Peter Leopold, put some limits to priestly authority in Tuscany towards the close of the last

century, and placed the clergy under the control of the laws of the country. The funeral honours paid at Florence and Pisa to the memory of the brave men who fell at Novara for the cause of Italian independence have equally been celebrated at Siena, Lucca—throughout Tuscany. The expulsion of many students from Pisa, and the arrest of others in Florence and elsewhere, have been the immediate consequence. We do not know what penalty the Tuscan laws can award to persons convicted of having sung a *De profundis*.

The state prisoners of Naples have been removed from Nisida to the fortress of Pescara, in the midst of murderous swamps on the Adriatic shore. They have been marched all across the kingdom, on foot, handcuffed, loaded with heavy chains, and lodged in the most horrid gaols throughout the journey. As they passed through Naples some of their parents and relations were so ill-advised as to accompany them as far as Sessa. Here they were all arrested, and only released after several days' confinement.

By the side of so much that is tragic in that unhappy country, we are happy to register a somewhat comical anecdote. A poor fellow who had bad luck at écarté at Caltanissetta, laid a violent hand on a luckless King of Spades, which was always turning up against him, and tore it to pieces. The Neapolitan authorities found him guilty of *lese-majesté*, and threw him into prison accordingly.

The King of Naples has treated the little Bourbon, of Parma, to a grand review. More than 40,000 were drawn up on the Parade ground. Naples is choked with soldiers, the drumming and tramping is as incessant as in the most stupid Prussian garrison.

The Chamber of Deputies at Turin has been almost exclusively occupied with financial discussions—according to some late accounts, it would seem that the differences between Rome and Sardinia are about to be amicably arranged. Alas! the wolf and the lamb shall lie down together!

The French refugees in Switzerland have taken up their residence in Geneva, where they show some disposition to set the Federal Government at defiance. They seem to act from a profound conviction of the imminence of revolutionary outbreaks at Lyons, and in the south-eastern departments of France, and deem it their duty to be at hand in case of emergency. The Swiss Government offers to convey them safely along the Rhine and through Belgium, where they may embark for England or the United States.

The Ex-President of the Venetian Republic, M. Manin, has been offered a pension by the French Government; he has, however, firmly but modestly declined it. He is poor, but can work for his bread; and requests the French Minister to turn his benevolent cares on such of his fellow-sufferers as cannot help themselves.

The Turkish Government is hard up for money. Paper money has again been issued by the Porte to a great amount, and the great public functionaries have declined to receive their salaries. Omer Pasha is following up his advantage against the Bosnian insurgents. The latter have now no chance of resistance, and are fast withdrawing to the mountains.

The earthquake at Rhodes and on the Asiatic coast continues its ravages. Private letters from those countries give the most appalling description of the scourge.

The last accounts from Sweden tell of new disturbances at Drontheim, in Norway. The peasantry of that neighbourhood are inclined to dispute the monopoly of the licensed fishmongers of the town. A decree of the Bailiwick prohibiting the sale of fish by any but the privileged tradesmen has given rise to a riot and a collision with the military, attended with loss of life.

The Chamber of the Nobles, in Sweden, has gone through a discussion on the subject of Jewish disabilities. It was proposed to place the Jews on the footing of equal rights with the dissenting denomination of Christians. With the exception of one orator there seemed to be but one opinion as to the justice and expediency of the measure. It has, however, been negatived by seventy-eight against eighteen votes.

The Spanish Cortes have at last come to a discussion respecting the arrangement of the debt on the 3rd. The result has hitherto only been a set of violent and intemperate speeches, angry words, and a duel. By the last tidings from Madrid, in date of the 7th, the Ministers have dissolved the Cortes; and these will only be reelected after three months. Bertram de Lys, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, will be charged with the portfolio of the Interior ad interim. The causes of this sudden resolution on the part of the Spanish Government are not known, as we have as yet only a telegraphic despatch. It is evident, however, that they met too strong on opposition against their scheme for the settlement of the debt. By a royal decree of the 27th ultimo commissioners have been appointed to examine and report on the state of railways in France, Germany, Belgium, and England, with a view to apply the results of their investigation to the construction of similar works in the peninsula.

M. Riquelme is daily expected from Rome, with the concordat duly ratified by the Pope.

The late diplomatic appointment to Paris and Lisbon, and the removal of the Duke of Sotomayor from the French embassy, have been severely commented upon by some of the members of the Opposition.

THE GERMAN CHAOS.

The following letter from our Bonn correspondent shows what difficulties the German people have to contend with before they can get a constitution that will work:—

Bonn, March 25, 1851.

The winter is over. The waters of the Rhine, lately so low as almost to endanger the safety of the Nibelungen Hart, are replenished by the melting snow of the Alps, and carry the newly-painted steamers with new vigour and speed. The lark rises merrily over the green seed-fields. The patient vintner prunes his vines whilst his wife turns the soil about the roots. The poor cottager sows his spring corn into the brown furrow of his little plot. By the hillside resounds the echo of falling trees, where ancient woodlands are to come under the discipline of the plough. Pious Catholics flock by thousands to hear Lent sermons (preached this time by Jesuit missionaries) and to pray to the Queen of Heaven for forgiveness of sins and a prosperous season. Innkeepers cleanse and whitewash their hospitable establishments, and loiter smiling in the gateway. The winter is over; spring has come. Once again nature looks hopeful, and man is expectant. Yet from one quarter there proceeds neither hope nor expectancy: the high Olympians at Dresden, busy at the forge of destiny all through the long winter, have produced nothing wherewith to greet the young spring but chills and black frost. Confusion reigns in Brühl Palace; mortification at Berlin; self-stultifying intrigue at Vienna; dissatisfaction everywhere. Austria and Prussia are once more at variance, and all the little kinglets, improving the occasion (of there being no "King" in Israel), swell the chorus of discord; some even with patriotic motives. You have read the King of Wurtemberg's letter, full of good intentions and wise warnings. It is very characteristic of a paternal German King of our day. Kind-hearted, well-intentioned, tinged with liberalism too, and with modern ideas, he wishes, with a certain degree of sincerity, for a great, strong, prosperous, and even free Germany, only he expects some one else—Schwarzenberg, Van der Pfordten, Providence, "Die Natur der Dinge"—to bring it about for him without inconvenience or unaccustomed change, not to say trouble and anxiety, to his own good easy self. And when, in spite of his good intentions, the thing is still not brought about, he is very indignant, protests before "God and the people" (Mazzini has not the monopoly of these) that it is not his fault, washes his hands of it,—and goes to dinner and the play!

But, having had the new settlement of the affairs of Germany in their own hands for nearly two years now without arriving at any result, one might candidly ask them why, with their good intentions, they do not altogether withdraw and make room for better men? Were it not that, on their part, might turn round and say:—"Better men, where are they? Let us see them. Have we not still, at least, old authority and the people's habit of obedience on our side, so that, if things go not well, they at least keep together, and your daily business proceeds undisturbed and still goes on improving a little year by year? Where are your men that will substitute this by their own strength and wisdom if we go?" *Sunt lacrimæ rerum*. And that, at bottom, is the reason why, here as elsewhere, they will have to continue yet for a while.

With regard to the Dresden conferences, it was but natural, and indeed to be desired, that each of the conferring parties should make his own weight to be felt, and cause it to prevail as far as it would carry. Arrangements based upon necessity are more likely to be healthy and lasting than when brought about for the moment, by mere facile yielding and easy going generousities. One likes too, amidst so much pitiable weakness and helplessness, to see the heterogeneous and dispersed elements of a power like Austria concentrated and wielded by an energetic and commanding mind. But, unfortunately, Schwarzenberg's energies are all spent (as Haderitzky reproached him with last autumn) upon diplomacy instead of politics. Not satisfied with the natural and permanent weight of Austria, he is bent upon using to the utmost those merely temporary advantages which the faults of others, and his own bullying, backed by a reckless soldiery, have procured him. He got Prussia to Dresden by the promise, or prospect, of a dualism; he now claims supremacy for Austria, and a constitution of the directing council of the Diet, which would put Prussia and her friends into a permanent minority. Prussia cannot consent to this, and prefers going back to the old Diet, that is, to a provisional state. Prussia is supported by the smaller Princes, whose existence depends upon a strong central power and reasonable settlement; some of these, like the Dukes of Coburg, of Oldenburg, of Brunswick, are really patriotic men, ready to make sacrifices for a real German unity. Austria, on the other hand, plays

off the Kings, particularly Bavaria and Saxony, against Prussia; but if the latter is, for once, firm, Schwarzenberg will no doubt modify his pretensions sooner than go back to the old Diet; for what he has more at heart than anything else is his great plan of entering the Federation with the whole of the Austrian dominions; whereby he hopes to gain a strong German backbone to that chaotic mass, and to relieve it from the unpleasant necessity of Russian support. To this plan, singularly enough, Prussia had given her consent; with the view, it appears, that her influence will be the stronger for being a purely German power, and of becoming the real centre round which all German interests must in time group themselves.

In the midst of all this hopeless confusion and discord there is, nevertheless, one element which has gained consideration in the public mind, and some furtherance even at Dresden, and which will, in all probability, form the soil wherein the real eventual unity of Germany will take root and grow, leaving Schwarzenberg-Manteuffel controversies to settle themselves. It is what they call here the "material interests;" matters of trade and industry, means and conveniences of earthly life, "the production and distribution of wealth," as Mr. Crowdy calls it. These mundane affairs will, to all appearances, and though one is sorry to find it to be the case, have to accomplish what was once done by religious Delphi temples, Olympian games, or other spiritual agencies—form bonds of union between men and nations. Verily Mr. Cobden will be Pontifex Maximus of a converted trading and free-trading world! Who can doubt it, when even Germany, the most ideal of countries, where "material interests" cannot be mentioned without apology for talking of such gross and unimportant matters, has, willingly or not, to start the realization of its darling idea of unity (not less a darling for being an idea) from that same "material" ground. German journals have taken to a way of writing that made one doubt whether they were not edited in Manchester or in the Strand: free trade, protection to native industry, capital, labour, reciprocity, independence of the foreigner, buying in the cheapest market, and the whole arcana of political economy, form the staple of daily controversy, showing both the rapid progress of the new religion and the aptitude and zeal of the neophytes. The long and the short of which is, that there is really an opening for seventy millions of people to trade together and to exchange commodities as friends and neighbours; and though it may, at first, be under the condition of greater restrictions to "outer barbarians" than the Zollverein at present imposes, it is still worthy of consideration. The discussion is carried on by three parties: the people of the north, who are commercial and agricultural, and have read Adam Smith and Say, are for free trade absolute; those of the south, who believe in Friedrich List, and wish to be manufacturing, are all for protection to native industry, for a great national fleet, and a great middle empire of seventy millions; Prussia, with its Zollverein, founded, like the English Prayer-book, upon a compromise, professing free trade and granting protective duties, stands between the two extremes, and receives kicks from both sides. Still it is allowed by everybody that, having succeeded in uniting thirty millions of Germans for some purposes at least, it has deserved well of the country, and that new arrangements ought to be made by extending, not by destroying, it.

The committee for "material interests" at Dresden, together with the men of experience that were joined to it, are said to have agreed on various useful matters, collected useful information, and suggestions, and others, and to have prepared reports that promise to lead to important results.

The expectations from Dresden have never been great, so that these things, should they find a satisfactory settlement there, will be thankfully received. So hope never dies. J. N.

P.S.—Would you believe that the Protestants here are very angry with your Government for cutting down the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill to such small dimensions? They would have liked a thundering bill of pains and penalties. Any thorn in the side of Romanism is welcome and dear to them; they love it so much from near acquaintance! One of the most singular results of the movement of '48 has been the revival of fierce religious animosity. The Catholics, the bonds of the state being loosened, have developed an immense energy of zeal and popular action, whilst the poor enlightened Protestants, who have no Jesuit missionaries and preaching friars to send amongst the people, there is nothing left but anger and wrath, "not loud but deep."

PROTESTANTISM AND POPEY.

A difference exists between the congregation of St. Ann's, Soho, and the Bishop of London regarding the Puseyite practices pursued in that church. The churchwarden states that the congregation is gradually dwindling away, that the income of the church for the year will not exceed £80, whilst the

lowest annual expenditure is £340, that the parishioners are very much dissatisfied with his lordship for ordering an evening service, in proof of which he mentions that only six persons have applied for pewes out of a population of 16,000. The churchwarden does not pretend to know "how far the forms introduced are sanctioned by the strict letter of the rubric," but he knows very well what the result has been. "The parish church is deserted; and, as if further to alarm that large class who look with suspicion upon any excess of "ritualism," in the newly-opened church (St. Mary's), under the control of the rector, the most extravagant forms of "historic" worship are indulged in, pandering to the morbid appetites of those who would seem to make religion a thing of sight and sound." He concludes by stating that, as three months have elapsed without any steps having been taken to remedy these abuses, the general feeling of the congregation is "that the novelties introduced into the parish by the rector are tolerated, if not encouraged by their bishop." The Bishop of London, in reply, dated March 27, says he has caused inquiry to be made into the case of St. Ann's, Soho, and has satisfied himself that "there exists no ground of complaint respecting the mode of conducting divine service in that church."

A few weeks ago an address was presented to the Queen, on the subject of Puseyism, signed by Lord Ashley and some two or three hundred thousands of those who hold similar opinions touching that heresy. The Queen has ordered the address to be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who ought to be able to manage all that sort of disagreement, or else why is he Arch-Overseer? Along with the address she instructed Sir George Grey to send the following letter to his grace:—

"Whitehall, April 1, 1851.

"My Lord Archbishop,—I have received the Queen's commands to transmit to your grace the accompanying address, which has been presented to her Majesty, signed by a very large number of lay members of the United Church of England and Ireland, including many members of both Houses of Parliament.

"Her Majesty places full confidence in your grace's desire to use such means as are within your power to maintain the purity of the doctrines taught by the clergy of the Established Church, and to discourage and prevent innovations in the modes of conducting the services of the Church not sanctioned by law or general usage, and calculated to create dissatisfaction and alarm among a numerous body of its members.

"I am, therefore, commanded to place this address in your grace's hand, and to request that it may be communicated to the Archbishop of York, and to the Suffragan Bishops in England and Wales, who, her Majesty does not doubt, will concur with your grace in the endeavour, by a judicious exercise of their authority and influence, to uphold the purity and simplicity of the faith and worship of our Reformed Church, and to reconcile differences among its members injurious to its peace and usefulness.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord Archbishop,

"Your Grace's obedient servant,

"G. GREY.

"His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury."

A select meeting of tradesmen and gentlemen in the united parishes of St. George's, Bloomsbury, and St. Andrew's, Holborn, was held on Saturday evening regarding the introduction of Roman Catholic priests among the children of the several London Unions, and that of the Holborn Union in particular. It was stated by one gentleman that in consequence of the admission of Catholic priests among the pauper children and adults of the metropolitan unions an organized system of proselytism has been carried on for some time. No resolutions were passed, but a hope was expressed that "in the numerous elections of guardians and directors of the poor, now in progress, none would be elected, or even proposed, but those professing sound and hearty Protestant faith and feelings."

The Reverend Mr. Blew, minister of the church of St. John, Rochester, Gravesend, has been suspended for six months by the Bishop of Rochester. The church of St. John was originally erected by subscription and let out at different times to different clergymen, and Mr. Blew ultimately became the proprietor by purchase. He had succeeded in bringing a large congregation to the church, had formed a school, chorists, &c., but he had very imprudently subscribed an address to Dr. Wiseman, got up by certain clergymen of the High Church party, in which those whose names are attached regret the manner in which the Cardinal has been received in England; address him as "your eminence," express respect for his person and office as a "bishop of the church of God;" and state that the "clamour of the many" in his case "is not to be regarded as the unequivocal voice of religion and of the Church of England."

We hear that the elder brother of the Bishop of Oxford was received into the Church of Rome a few days since, and that Archdeacon Manning, the brother-in-law of the bishop, "professed," and was admitted into the Romish communion, at the Jesuits' Church in Farm-street, on Sunday last; and on the same day, and at the same place, was admitted Mr.

James R. Hope, Q.C.—*Standard*. The statement regarding the Bishop of Oxford's brother has been contradicted.

It has been known for some time that five clergymen, and twelve or fourteen of the laity connected with St. Saviour's, Leeds, had resolved on entering the Romish Church. On Thursday evening, several of them publicly made their recantation of Protestantism; the others having done so privately. St. Anne's Catholic Chapel was appropriated to the ceremony, and was densely crowded. The Reverend Mr. Brown first explained the service to the congregation. Then came the hymn to the Holy Ghost, followed by the fifty-first Psalm; a few prayers appropriate to the occasion were next read, and then the new converts read their recantation of Protestantism, or profession of faith, at the foot of the altar. This done, the officiating priest pronounced over them absolution from all ecclesiastical censures; the service being concluded by the chanting of the Te Deum, and an address by Dr. Newman.

The Pope has refused passports to one of his bishops, and to several of his subjects, who were desirous of visiting London during the Exhibition. This disposes of the report that the Pope was himself coming; and we are glad of it, for the people of this country would have given a terrible lesson to the insolence of their Sovereign. (!)—*Church and State Gazette*.

PURITY OF ELECTION—THE ST. ALBANS CASE.

The disclosures made before the select committee of the House of Commons appointed to try the merits of the petition presented against the return of Mr. Bell for St. Albans, do not say much for the purity of restricted constituencies, or the honour of the law-making classes. According to Mr. Sergeant Wragham's description, there are three political parties in St. Albans—the Blue, or Tory party; the Crimson, or Whig party; and a perfectly independent party, who form a sort of "floating capital," which is used as circumstances suggested. Mr. Bell having been selected as a fitting person to represent the borough, Mr. Henry Edwards, a farmer in the neighbourhood, was appointed as his agent, and he, just before the election, hired a private house in the borough, which he opened for committee rooms, where he was in the habit of seeing voters before the election, who were introduced to him, one by one, into a room up stairs, where he sat, and where gold was placed upon a table, which the voters, having made their promise to vote for Mr. Bell, took up and then retired. This performance was noticed with an unfavourable eye by some of the inhabitants of St. Albans, who determined to procure a candidate upon principles of purity and independence, and for the purpose of trying the virtue of the borough of St. Albans. They accordingly invited Mr. Alderman Carden, who went to the poll with Mr. Bell. The result of the election was—For Bell 276, for Carden 147; leaving sixty persons who did not vote at all, and making the total constituency about 483. A large number of very respectable inhabitants of the borough did not vote for Mr. Bell, whose majority was made up of the poorer class of voters.

From the evidence it appeared that a person named George Howard, after having promised his vote to Mr. Bell, had gone to a public-house and treated all round, and held out a handful of gold, but he denied having received any money for his vote. Mr. Bayley, a reporter, stated that "election money" was the subject of general conversation at St. Albans, and bribery was a very common thing there. People talked about "bell-metal," and £5 was usually considered the price of a vote. But the committee wanted more specific evidence; and several important witnesses having disappeared under very suspicious circumstances, advertisements were inserted in the morning papers, bills sent to all the railway stations, and placards posted in all the chief towns. Meanwhile the committee adjourned, and on their reassembling, a Mrs. Elizabeth Edwards, living at Limehouse, refusing to tell where her brother-in-law, Waggett, was to be found, was given into custody. Terrified and contrite, she consented to be driven to his lodgings, but he had been precipitately removed, and the frightened landlady identified Mr. Edwards of Sovereign-alley as the lawyer who had supplied him with money and spirited him away. Two of the missing witnesses were now forthcoming, but one Lynes prevaricated so much that the chairman ordered him into custody, and solitary confinement—which produced a great sensation. Mr. James, Q.C., at the instigation of the attorney for the other side, got a *habeas corpus*, but the Sergeant-at-law declined obeying it, and Lynes was according locked up till Monday morning. He then showed a better disposition, and was discharged; but the committee resolved to apply for a Speaker's warrant for the apprehension of Waggett, Edwards, and Haywood, which was unanimously granted.

OUTBREAK IN LONDON NEXT SUMMER.

Fantastical rumours of a revolt in London next summer, recently circulated in Paris, are reflected from America. The *New York Herald* professes to sketch the campaign. It seems to be thought that

because a glass house is built in the park, all the world are to cast stones at it. The Red Republicans and Socialists of France, German Communists, American Socialists and Anti-renters, English Chartists and Irish Repealers, are to lead on the London mob of 50,000 like that which stormed the Tuileries. While a riot in the metropolis diverts the military, a decent is to be made on Manchester. By a confidential communication the *New York Herald* learns that a number of leading men at Liverpool contemplate a declaration of independence on behalf of "a new republic, of which Liverpool, Lancashire, and the principality of Wales, are to constitute the nucleus." Ireland will probably sympathize. "It is evident that sooner or later there must be a bouleversement throughout Europe," and England is "full of the seeds of discord, rebellion, and revolution."

Such is the Yankee version of the gossip afloat in Paris, suggested by the obvious coincidences. No doubt there are men in London who would be glad enough of a hubbub during which they might have the run of Rundell and Bridge's, and the Bank of France's, and Monsieur Soyer's new eating-house. But no sober-minded reader need be told that the reports in Paris and New York are boyish dreams.

In reply to the calumnies which have been circulating regarding them, in Parliament and elsewhere, the French refugees have published the following address:—

"71, Dean-street, Soho-square, London, April 7.

"We, the undersigned French Republicans, refugees resident in London, lay before the English people the following declaration:—

"The expulsion of the Republican exiles from Switzerland on the threats of Russia, Austria, and Prussia is now sought to be accomplished, as regards England, by trickery on the part of these powers.

"But England, who had no idea of such a proceeding, would be in this case ruled by the foreign powers.

"There is a coincidence, however, which is very remarkable. At the moment when the Governments of Europe demand of the British Cabinet that we shall be put out of the pale of humanity, the mercenary journals of the counter-revolution in France redouble their accustomed violence against us; and two individuals (for diplomacy has not but defensible agents) unite to accuse us of the basest and most detectable designs.

"Who are these two individuals? One of them is a Frenchman, who is not a political refugee, although he has assumed that title, and whose coming to this country has not, to our knowledge, been satisfactorily accounted for. This individual, after having made before a police magistrate various allegations of a most odious character against us, has since, in an official examination made by order of the superior authorities, been obliged to deny their truth, which denial has been duly recorded in a former report addressed to the Government.

"The other is a native of this country, who has forfeited the confidence of the political party whose cause he pretends to espouse, and who seeks to recover his lost popularity by exciting among the masses old and nearly forgotten international hatreds. The antecedents of this individual were, however, so well known to us that not one among us would enter into any communication with him, notwithstanding all the advances he has made to that effect, which is no doubt our inexplicable crime in his eyes; but the English public will have no difficulty in divining that, without our being either assassins or incendiaries, we may be fully justified in regarding with distrust such a false democrat as Mr. Feargus O'Connor.

"We, therefore, declare in the most solemn manner that whosoever attributes to us, the French Republicans, refugees, now residing in London, designs such as those individuals have attributed to us, or in any manner similar to them, is a vile slanderer.

"We make this solemn declaration, not because we dread to be driven from the refuge we have found in this country, for the revolution which has had power in France may resume that power, and in so doing exact, perhaps, no large a satisfaction for the wrong of which we should be the victims—an idea which never entered into our minds.

"We make this declaration voluntarily, we make it freely, we make it without afterthought, without any fear of menaces; we make it in the name of the eternal principles of brotherhood and concord among nations and peoples—principles for which we now suffer the pains of exile.

"We may be calumniated, but the world will never believe that men the very first act of whose advent to power was the destruction of the scaffold,—men who accomplished a great revolution without shedding a single drop of blood, without committing an act of violence, without imprisonment, and without confiscation,—the world will never believe that we are assassins or incendiaries.

"J. P. BEZJEAU.
F. BERTRAND.
V. CHUTELET.
C. DELESCLUSE.
DIBON.
DUPONT.
TREMOND.
D. PERZOO.
THEODORE KARCHER.
LANGERON.
LEDRU ROLLIN.
LIONNE.
LABAT.
DARGANNITZ.

"LUMARD.
F. MADAN.
E. FEBVRE.
E. M. DE MONTJAU, JR.
GUSTAVE NAQUET.
F. PARIGON.
PETIT JEAN.
G. PHILIPPE.
ROUSSIER.
RIBERYROLLA.
A. RICATEAU.
SUTREAU.
L. VILLAIN.
GOGUIN."

THE "NEW MAN" AT FRANKFORT.

Frauds and fictions have their periodical reappearances. It is some time since we have had the representative of a new race suddenly show himself in the midst of civilized society, but the German papers announce the advent of a "new man" in Frankfort.

"The story—as related in the *Correspondenz* of Berlin—attests that a stranger was picked up at the end of last year in a small village of the district of Lebas, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder, whither he had wandered no one could tell whence. Such a circumstance could hardly have piqued curiosity in another country, but to a people fond of speculation, and situated far away from the great highways of the world, there was something strange and startling in the fact that the stranger spoke German imperfectly, and had all the marks of a Caucasian origin. Whether the man was a common impostor, and tricked the village authorities, or whether these worthies began in their usual way to construct a history for him 'out of the depths of their moral consciousness,' is uncertain; at all events they looked on him as a great prize, and carried him off to Frankfort. On being questioned by the burgomaster of that enlightened city the stranger said his name was Jophar Vorin, and that he came from a country named Laxaria, situated in the portion of the world called Sakria. He understands, it is affirmed, none of the European languages (except, we must suppose, the broken German), but reads and writes what he calls the Laxarian and Abramian tongues. The latter he declares to be the written language of the clerical order in Laxaria, and the other the common language of his people. He says that his religion is Christian in form and doctrine, and that it is called Ispatian. Laxaria he represents to be many hundred miles from Europe, and separated by vast oceans from it. His purpose in coming to Europe, he alleges, was to seek a long-lost brother; but he suffered shipwreck on the voyage—where, he does not know—nor can he trace his route on shore on any map or globe. He claims for his unknown race a considerable share of geographical knowledge. The five great compartments of the earth he calls Sakria, Afkar, Aslar, Auslar, and Euplar. The sages of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, after much examination of the tale and its bearer, have come to the conclusion that it is true. Some men believe things because they are incredible. However, Jophar Vorin has been carefully despatched to Berlin, and is now the subject of much scientific and curious gossip in the Prussian capital. What mystifications hide under the story time will probably show."

The mind at once jumps back to similar cases. Peter the wild boy seems to have been a genuine founding—a mere castaway with no pretensions of his own. Count Cagliostro must be reckoned amongst clairvoyants rather than ethnological novelties. Caspar Hauser, whether he was an impostor or a real victim, belongs to the wild boy class. One of the most recent ethnological wonders was the Princess of Cariboo, who was suddenly discovered at Hastings, we believe, thirty or forty years ago. She was a charming young lady, spoke an unknown tongue, soon learned English enough to explain that she was princess of an island in the Atlantic, and was much fêted. The Princess of Cariboo ultimately turned out to be a native of Witherage in Devonshire.

But the new man at Frankfort appears to rival the immortal Psalmanazar, whose successful fraud has been so often recounted. A narrative more complete than most appeared about seven years ago in the *Revue des deux Mondes*.

Psalmanazar was a Frenchman. He wandered through Europe, by turns a cheat, a pilgrim, a Protestant, a Catholic, a merchant, a pedlar, and a soldier, and thus became a master in the art of working upon human credulity for his own benefit. Experience having taught him that it is easier to excite sympathy for strangers than for those whom we see daily, he chose a distant locality as his birthplace, and called himself a Japanese exile, born in the island of Formosa. By continual repetition of his adventures he ended by believing them himself, and gave his fellow soldiers daily more and more dramatic narratives of his Japanese and Formosan life. He one day attracted the notice of a shrewd Protestant chaplain, who converted him; the willing convert was taken to the Bishop of London and loaded with favours and money. Our Japanese friend had too much tact not to continue so profitable a deception. He not only ate raw flesh and roots, but invented a Formosan alphabet and language, into which he translated the Bible, wrote a detailed description of the island of Formosa, its history and customs, with a map, an engraved alphabet, costumes, temples, public buildings, and several portraits of the natives, former friends of Psalmanazar (a Japanese name of his own coining). He abused the French and the Roman Catholics, who were no favourites of the English, and the more he abused them, the more abundantly money poured in for him. He gave lessons in the Formosan tongue to several devout women, and brought them Formosan love poems which enraptured them. The worthy Bishop of London was meditating the establishment of a professor's chair, which he thought would be most useful to English missions, and of great help in the conversion of the heathen. Pious ladies furnished Psalmanazar with a very handsome dress. From time to time he was attacked, but only in freethinking newspapers held in low estimation. Every true Englishman obstinately believed in the lies of the converted Japanese; a novel which he wrote went through six editions, and gave

him a position of some importance in the literary world. At last, having secured himself from want by his writings, and a small pension from Government, he became an honest man, repented his Formosan lies, and wished to make a recantation of them; but his religious friends interfered, fearful of the ridicule which they would have to endure. Psalmanazar contented himself with writing a fresh account of Formosa, drawn from true sources, and meant to rectify his former fictions. At the age of ninety-three he wrote his confessions, which the Calvinistic party suppressed. He enjoyed public respect and admiration to the end of his days, but never revealed the name of the French family to which he belonged.

A REVEREND LOTHARIO.

A strange case was tried in the Nisi Prius Court, at Gloucester, last week. Mr. Gaisford, an attorney and solicitor in Berkeley, Gloucestershire, brought an action against the Reverend Seton Karr, the vicar of that town, for the seduction of his wife. Mr. Gaisford married a Miss Ulph, the daughter of a timber merchant at Lowestoft, in Suffolk, in 1835. They lived happily for a number of years, during which they had four children, the eldest of whom is now thirteen. But, in 1839, the Reverend Seton Karr became Vicar of Berkeley; in the following year he appointed Mr. Gaisford to collect his tithes and manage his business, and this led to an intimacy between the two families, which, according to the counsel for the plaintiff, "resulted in the ruin of the plaintiff's happiness, and the blighting of all his fondest hopes." As regards the guilt of the parties the evidence was rather imperfect. The trial lasted three days, and the most indefatigable pains had evidently been taken to prove the guilt of the reverend gentleman, but somehow or other the case was left very doubtful.

One lady, Mr. Gaisford's housekeeper, who was examined at great length, had seen many instances of what she considered suspicious familiarity between Mr. Karr and Mrs. Gaisford. At certain archery meetings, "Did not think Mr. Karr behaved as he should to a married woman. When she went to pick up her arrows, observed him to take her hand more than once." Again, one evening at supper, at Mr. Gaisford's, Mr. Karr sat next to that lady. "After supper they altered their places; he got closer to her at the corner of the table, and she moved her chair nearer to him. I observed him holding her hand under the table." After that discovery Mr. Karr was never admitted to see Mrs. Gaisford alone; either the husband or the housekeeper always took care to be present when he was there. The next remarkable event, after the hand-squeezing at the supper party, was a water party, which was to have lasted three days, but was broken up on the evening of the first day, in consequence of what was witnessed between Mr. Karr and Mrs. Gaisford. Mr. Gaisford had refused to go to the water party, or to allow his wife to go. She asked him who had poisoned his mind against her, and denied that there was any cause for suspicion. To prove this she implored him to watch her conduct during the day, and declared that she would give Mr. Karr no warning. But, notwithstanding all her protestations, it appeared that when the reverend Lothario called in the morning to arrange about provender for the voyage, she rushed down stairs to receive him alone, and, as she afterwards confessed, contrived to put him on his guard. The evidence regarding the aquatic excursion is very meagre. A Mr. Charles Biss, who had been consulted regarding the liaison between Mr. Karr and Mrs. Gaisford, states that he was one of the party:—

"I was consulted about it, and I advised Mr. and Mrs. Gaisford first not to go, but was afterwards induced to consent to the party being carried out, on the urgent solicitations of Mrs. Gaisford. I afterwards agreed to go. I slept at Mr. Gaisford's that night; Mr. Karr came early next day. The water party was to continue for two or three days as circumstances might arise. It continued only one day, as far as Mrs. Gaisford was concerned, by my advice. I observed that Mrs. Gaisford and Mr. Karr were seated together in the steerage of the boat, and after what had passed previously I thought they ought not to continue in that position. The next day I had a conversation with Mrs. Gaisford."

In another part of the evidence given by the Reverend George Madan, rural dean, who, along with other clergymen, had previously investigated the affair, the following memorandum of Mr. Biss's conversation was given. The water party had taken place on the 25th of June. The memorandum relates to the day following:—

"June 26. Mr. Biss, Miss Amyas, and Miss Hazeland remonstrated with Mrs. Gaisford, who expressed the deepest contrition. It was stated to Mrs. Gaisford by all the party, as a particular reason for not permitting the slightest familiarity with Mr. Karr, that he had eloped with a married lady prior to his coming to Berkeley—namely, Mrs. Bernard, whom he afterwards deserted in France, and whose conduct since he came to Berkeley had been notorious. Mrs. Gaisford promised that she would never have any communication with Mr. Karr that would cause the least suspicion."

For some time she appears to have kept her promise, but again the intimacy was renewed, only with

greater secrecy. On Saturday, April 22, 1848, Mr. Gaisford being from home, Mrs. Gaisford was seen to meet Mr. Karr and talk to him at his gate for some time. On that occasion, as she has since confessed, she made an appointment to meet him in London on the following Friday. On Easter Sunday, April 23, the day after the above appointment, Mrs. Gaisford, received the holy communion from Mr. Karr, and on April 28 she called upon him at Fladong's Hotel, Oxford-street, from which place she is said to have accompanied him in a cab to a disreputable house in Weymouth-terrace, Hackney-road. In regard to this latter transaction, the defendant endeavoured to prove an alibi, which was not very successful. Mr. Justice Patteson, in summing up, directed the attention of the jury to the fact, that at the investigation in 1849, Mr. Karr most solemnly denied having seen Mrs. Gaisford in London, whereas it was now admitted that he had seen her there. The jury retired at a quarter past five o'clock on Saturday, the case having lasted three days. At half-past ten his lordship sent for them to his lodgings, and, on their saying that there was no chance of their agreeing if locked up for a month, discharged them without their returning a verdict.

IRISH PAUPER IMMIGRANTS.

Another case of death from cold and starvation on board an Irish steamer took place the other day. The victim in this instance was Mary Collins, aged forty-five, a poor Irishwoman, who came over from Cork, in the Duke of Cambridge steam-vessel, on the 29th ult. She had been recently discharged from the workhouse in Skull, and walked to Cork, a distance of fifty miles, with two of her children, whom she brought over with her. The voyage lasted three days, and it rained all the way. She had to lie on deck, and when the vessel arrived in the Thames, the surgeon who was called to see the poor woman found her lying pulseless and speechless in that part of the boat appropriated for the cattle. She had nothing under her, and her clothing consisted of only a blanket, a ragged gown, and a chemise. The captain, who stated that he had brought over between 400 and 500, at 1s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. a head, and was in the habit of bringing as many every week, said he had had a very boisterous voyage, and the immigrants had been exposed to the inclemency of the weather. One witness said the night the vessel arrived in the river there were upwards of 200 of the immigrants going about the streets shoeless, and in the most wretched condition. The surgeon of Whitechapel workhouse, to which Mary Collins had been taken, said she died on Monday last of typhus fever, which had no doubt been accelerated by the overcrowding of the vessel and the exposure to the weather. The inquiry was adjourned until Monday.

CRIME IN SUFFOLK.

At the close of the assizes held at Bury St. Edmunds, last week, the grand jury called attention, in their presentment, to the great increase of crime in Suffolk. "The number of commitments to the county gaols for the last four years show a rapid increase of crime; and they attribute this lamentable fact, in great measure, to the want of employment from which the labourers are suffering." They call attention also to the great increase of incendiary fires, and the insufficiency of the law to repress that crime. The cause of all these evils is the depression of the agricultural interest. "The heavy losses sustained by the occupiers of land and other industrial classes have prevented them from giving the usual employment to the labouring population, and this is one of the great causes which has crowded the gaols in this county with prisoners."

The following is the relative number of commitments to the Bury gaol in the undermentioned years:—

Years ending	Prisoners.
1847	532
1848	662
1849	681
1850	772

The numbers for the last quarter of the present year are comparatively much greater than those of any previous year; in fact, nearly double.

A STRANGE AFFAIR.

A young needlewoman named Ann Harriett Newman, who resides with her parents at Limehouse, was found sitting on the step of a door in a state of stupefaction in Little Sutton-street, Clerkenwell, about half-past one o'clock on Tuesday morning week. Her hands were bloody, but there was no mark of violence on her person. She was taken to the Royal Free Infirmary, Gray's-inn-road, and, when sufficiently recovered, gave the following account of the circumstances which led to her being found there:—She said that on Monday, the 31st ultimo, she got a letter from a young man named Richard Roberts, who was paying his addresses to her, making an appointment to meet her that afternoon at the Ben Jonson, Rhodeswell, Stepney. Though the letter was not in his handwriting, she imagined that he had got somebody else to write it, and kept the appointment, going there between four and five o'clock in the afternoon. Instead of Roberts she met a young man, who said, "Your name is Newman; you are waiting for Dick

Roberts; come with me, and I'll show you where he is." He then took her round the corner, where a cab was waiting, and wished her to go on to the Ben Jonson's bridge, which was close at hand, but she refused. An altercation ensued, during which the young man and the cabman tried to force her into the vehicle, but some persons passing by interfered, on which the young man cried out, "What business is it of yours? She is my wife, and I want to get her home." Though she protested to the contrary, the parties adopted his statement, and she was forced into the cab. She had not been long there when he put a white handkerchief to her mouth and nose, and she became almost immediately insensible. On awakening out of her trance, she found herself lying on a sofa in a large room, with a young woman sitting opposite her. The woman, who seemed to commiserate her position, asked if she felt herself better, to which she replied, "I don't know that I have been ill," for she did not perceive that any injury had been done to her. She asked the young woman where she was, to which the other replied, "You're in a 'low house.'" Shocked at this intelligence, though she did not find that she had been abused, she cried out, "I must get out at once;" to which the young woman replied, "I do not think there is much use in your trying. If, however, you are a respectable young woman, and resolved to force your way out, here is a knife which may assist you; but for God sake do not tell the old woman, who will soon come up, that I gave you the knife, or any advice or assistance." A respectable-looking old woman came up shortly afterwards with something in a glass, which she compelled the complaining to swallow. The draught had a strange effect upon her, and all after that seemed like a confused dream. She remembered seeing a gentleman in the room, who attempted to take liberties with her, which she resisted. She broke a quantity of glass, and had an indistinct idea of cutting somebody with a knife, but could not say who it was; the fact might account for the blood on her hands. She was then again forced into a cab, and remembered nothing more until she awakened to a sense of consciousness in the infirmary; but she did not think that her person had been violated, an opinion in which Mr. Robertson seemed to coincide. William Day, twenty-one years of age, late barman to Mr. Deacon, a wine and spirit merchant, was brought up at Thames-street Police Court, on Monday, on the charge of having been the person guilty of the outrage. The young woman distinctly stated that he was the man. The prisoner said he could prove that he passed his time from four in the afternoon till twelve at night on Monday in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of his connection with the present charge. He was remanded till Saturday (to-day), and the constables were ordered to exert themselves to discover the house to which the young woman was taken, and also to find out the cab in which she had been taken away.

MURDERS AND SUICIDES.

The trial of George Carnt, for the murder of Elizabeth Bainbridge, at Lawshall, Norfolk, was brought to a close on Saturday. Carnt is an agricultural labourer, aged twenty-three, and bore a good character. He had been paying his addresses to Elizabeth Bainbridge, a woman aged thirty, who was married about ten years ago to a man who enlisted three years afterwards, since which time she lived with her father, a respectable farmer. On the 20th of January, Carnt, who had been staying for a week at the Harrow public-house at Lawshall, was seen in company with Elizabeth Bainbridge, who had also been there on a visit to her sister, who was landlady of the house. They were seen conversing together very earnestly, and it is surmised, although there is no direct evidence of the fact, that her refusal of him led to her untimely fate. In the afternoon of that day, she left the Harrow, with the intention of going home to her father's house. Soon after her departure Carnt left the house also, and it was afterwards ascertained that he overtook her on her way home. As she did not reach home that night, her parents became alarmed, but nothing could be learned concerning her mysterious disappearance. About seven that evening, Carnt returned to the Harrow much agitated, without a hat, and his clothes wet and dirty. He stood before the kitchen fire some minutes in silence, and then said, "The halter is for my neck. It does not signify what becomes of me; the gallows is my doom." Next day search was made for the missing woman, and her body was found in a pond on the way home to her father's. The evidence was clear as to the guilt of the prisoner, and a verdict to that effect having been returned, he was sentenced to death.

Daniel Munday, a labourer, aged forty-six, was tried at the Oxford Assizes, on Tuesday, for the murder of his wife at Wootton-under-Edge, on the 23rd of February. He had been in the habit of beating and kicking his wife in a very brutal manner; but, with the exception of one witness, who saw him strike her a violent blow on the chest a few days before her death, no one had seen him kick or beat her for a few months previously.

"On the morning of the day (Sunday) on which she died two witnesses saw her come out of the house and stand in the road with her head drooping down, and her whole body shaking as if she was in great bodily agony. A short time afterwards, in the course of the same morning, she went to a neighbour's house, but what passed there was excluded by the rules of evidence. They, however, persuaded her to go home to bed. About five in the afternoon a female neighbour called upon her, and found her sitting in the bed with her clothes on, and this neighbour washed her head with some vinegar, and also smoothed her hair, and said that she did not observe any marks upon her neck. Another female neighbour, who also applied some vinegar to her head the same evening, gave similar evidence. The prisoner saw one of these witnesses, and requested her if his wife should be worse in the night to come to her if he should fetch her. These witnesses left her in bed about half-past ten o'clock, there being no other persons in the house but the prisoner and two children, aged respectively eight and four years. About two o'clock in the morning the prisoner came to the house of the witness he had spoken to, and aroused her, saying, 'Fanny was worse,' and in the course of five minutes, and before the woman could dress

herself, he came back and said, 'Fanny was gone.' The witness and her husband then went to the prisoner's house and found his wife quite dead, but not yet cold; the mouth and eyes closed, and the bed clothes quite smooth and folded up round the waist. When the body was laid out, it was found that on the right side the bowels was a very large green and purple bruise; that there was also a large bruise on the side near the hip; and that there was a bruise and the marks of pressure on the neck and under the ear. A coroner's inquest was held, but, strange to say, very slight evidence was given upon these points, and the jury returned a verdict of accidental death."

The jury found the prisoner guilty of an aggravated assault. Mr. Justice Talfourd asked the jury which assault they referred to, and the foreman replied, "The assault on the Thursday before the death." His lordship said, that being so, he thought, upon the principle of the decision in *Begina v. Bird*, the prisoner was entitled to be acquitted, as the blow on Thursday clearly did not conduce to the death, and, therefore, although the prisoner might be indicted for the assault hereafter, he was not liable on this indictment. The jury acquiesced, and the prisoner was thereupon acquitted.

Patrick Lyons, who was sentenced to death for the murder of Margaret Fahey, a hawker, at Warrington, has confessed his own guilt, but he exculpates his wife from any share in the crime. His object was to get possession of the money which Margaret Fahey had on her person; but after the dreadful deed had been committed his spirit failed him, and he had not the courage to steal the purse from the dead body of his victim. He states that on the morning of the murder he hesitated a long time, struggling with the temptation; that on Fanny coming down stairs he struck the blow with the butcher's cleaver himself, that his wife rushed upon him and gave him a strong push away; that he then threatened to do the same with his wife, upon which she ran up stairs. A representation of the facts of the case, with the statements of the prisoners, has been forwarded to Sir George Grey, in the hope of inducing him to recommend to her Majesty, as respects the wife, a commutation of the sentence of death. The day of execution is fixed for Sunday, the 19th instant.

The examination of Ann Averment, charged with having caused the death of her mistress, Mrs. Ann Dearson, of Leverington, by mixing arsenic in a pudding, was brought to a close on Saturday. The proceedings began on the 22nd ultimo, and had been adjourned to the 24th, the 29th, and then to Saturday last. The magistrate decided on sending the prisoner for trial.

The inquest on the body of Esther Curtis, who was killed by her husband, at Gloucester, on Saturday, was brought to a close on Tuesday afternoon. The first witness called was Mrs. Wilkes, of the White Lion Inn, by whom the deceased was employed on Saturday. The prisoner, Edmund Curtis, was sitting in the kitchen, drinking, when his wife went to him and asked him to go home, complaining at the same time of the hardship of her being obliged to work at the house for half a day while he went there and spent double the money in a couple of hours. They then went outside the door together, and shortly afterwards witness heard a scream. Running into the garden, witness found the deceased on an iron hurdle, the prisoner lying across her, and beating her with his fist. She called out a man to the assistance of the deceased, and he was dragged from off her, and the woman fell insensible to the ground. She now spoke afterwards, but gave three hysterical cries and immediately died. Other witnesses corroborated the statement of facts, and added that the prisoner returned to the house, and when told that his wife was dying, answered, "She may die and be d—, and the sooner the better." The jury returned a verdict of Manslaughter.

A strange affair has recently taken place at March, in the island of Ely. Edward Miller, a brewer and maltster there, having ascertained that two of his maid-servants had been pilfering his flour, told them of it, but, agreed on their promising better behaviour for the future, to look over the offence, and continue them in his service. This charge was laid by Mr. Miller on Monday, and on Tuesday morning Mr. Miller's two servants were missing, and also a third, in the employ of Mrs. Jones (Mr. Miller's sister), who lived next door to Mr. Miller. Nothing was heard of them until dark on Tuesday evening, when it was ascertained that one of Miller's servants had died, her body being discovered under a hedge in a field at the back of the town. The other two girls were searched for, and found in a house contiguous to Mr. Miller's back premises, suffering from the effects of strong doses of laudanum. They were watched and attended during Tuesday night, and there is now hopes of their recovery.

Joseph Clarke, charged with killing his wife, at Bath on the 18th of February, was found guilty of Man-slaughter at Taunton Assizes, on Saturday.

Maria Clarke, aged twenty-two, who was committed to prison a fortnight ago for burying her infant child alive, was tried for murder at Norfolk Assizes, on Saturday. An attempt was made to show that she was not in her right mind, as she had recently recovered from puerperal fever, but the jury returned a verdict of guilty, and she was sentenced to death.

Robert James Holworthy, residing at Wymeswell, and who a few years ago was well known as the proprietor of "Holworthy's pills," is said to have poisoned five of his children. It appears that some time back he became reduced in circumstances. In July, 1849, his children were all apparently enjoying good health, but since then five of them have died, and the symptoms preceding death in each case bore so strong a resemblance as to excite suspicion. Two of the bodies were exhumed a few days ago, and an investigation into the affair is now going on.

Thomas Turner, a waterman, of Mill Pond-street, Bermondsey, was brought before Mr. Yardley, at Thames street, on Wednesday, on a charge of attempting, in company with two other men, to rob and murder J. J. Baldwin, a marine-store dealer, at Stepney.

The latter, a stout man, whose face was seriously cut and bruised, stated that he was in Rotherhithe on Tuesday night; that he got into a boat at twelve o'clock for the purpose of being ferried across the river, and that the prisoner took him alongside a ship, where he kept him for some time, and then said, "We must go back again to Rotherhithe." Some other watermen then got into the boat, and he told them to take him to the Thames Tunnel stairs on the Middlesex shore. He was taken alongside a ship again, to the best of his recollection, and was then rowed across the river. On nearing the Middlesex shore one of the watermen struck him a dreadful blow under the ear and threw him overboard. The men then rowed away as fast as they could, leaving him up to the neck in water. He managed to scramble out and give information to the police, who apprehended Turner. The waterman had tried to get a pocket-book, in which he had £60 or £70, but had not succeeded. From Mr. Baldwin's story it seemed as if their intention had been to drown him, with a view to rob him afterwards. The prisoner was remanded till to-day.

A petition, signed by the whole of the jury, has been forwarded to Mr. Locke King, M.P. for East Surrey, for presentation through the Home Secretary, praying for the commutation of the sentence of death passed upon the two men now lying in Horseferry-lane gaol, and convicted at the last assizes of the murder of Mr. Hollet, on the ground that neither of the men, Levi Harwood and Samuel Jones, fired the shot. It is the opinion of the jury, and also of Mrs. Hollet, that the man who fired by Hiram Smith, the approver. The day appointed for the execution is Tuesday, the 22d instant. The county authorities have given directions that when executions are necessary they shall for the future take place on Tuesdays, as that will allow the preparations to be made without any breach of the Sabbath, as has heretofore been the case.

David Wright, a youth aged seventeen years, committed suicide last week, by hanging himself in a loft on the premises of his employer, Thomas Porter, a builder, at High Street, in the parish of Bocking. There seemed to be no motive which could have induced deceased to commit the act. Since Drury's execution, however, he had frequently made inquiries about the process of hanging, and how the rope was fixed.

Charles Lavo, aged nineteen, residing with his father in Bedford-place, Rotherhithe, had formed a strong attachment to a young lady living at that place. Some words took place between them, and she sent him a note desiring that their correspondence should cease. This had a great effect on his mind, and, on the morning of Thursday, the 20th of March, he left a letter for the lady with her servant, in which he said that "She is all the world to me—his too heavy for my brain to bear, and she would only not see the wreck." He was then in a very depressed state of mind, and about three on the same afternoon the man of the Citizen D steamer saw a body falling from the parapet of London-bridge, which has since been ascertained to be that of the young man. His body was not found, however, till Monday last, when it was discovered floating down by Horseferrydown. He had a gold watch in his pocket and a lock round his neck, which had been presented to him by the lady. A verdict of Temporary Insanity was returned.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen and Prince Albert, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred, visited the Exhibition on Monday afternoon. On Tuesday the Queen and Prince Albert, accompanied by the Princess Royal and the Princess Helena, paid a visit to Sir Edwin Landseer at St. John's-wood. In the afternoon the Queen paid a visit to the Duchess of Gloucester, at Gloucester-house. It is expected that the Queen will open the Exhibition on the 1st of May.

At Berlin, judgment has been passed in favour of Prince Albert's claim to an annual rent of £3750 out of the estate of the late Duke. On the marriage of Prince Albert with the Queen of England, a family arrangement was made, that in case the reigning Duke of Coburg, who has no children, should die without direct heirs, the second son of Prince Albert should succeed to the government of the duchy.

The marriage of Viscount Goderich, son of the Earl and Countess of Ripon with Miss Henrietta Vyner, eldest daughter of Mr. and Lady Mary Vyner, was celebrated by special licence, at the residence of Earl De Grey, grandfather to the bride and uncle to the bridegroom, in St. James's-square, on Tuesday forenoon. The ceremony, which was witnessed by a select circle of friends, having been concluded, the bridal party partook of a sumptuous repast, shortly after which the bride and bridegroom left town for West-park, the magnificent seat of Earl De Grey, in Bedfordshire. The bride is eighteen years of age, and the bridegroom is in his twenty-fourth year. The Countess of Newburgh introduced Miss Talbot to a select circle at the Countess Cowper's, in Great Stanhope-street, on Thursday week. The young lady, in consequence of the recent proceedings in Chancery, was the "observed of all observers," and appeared in excellent health and spirits.

The Marchioness of Lansdowne died on Thursday night week. For some days previously her decease was hourly expected. Her medical advisers kept administering repeated doses of morphia to soothe and alleviate as much as possible the agonies she suffered. Mortification was looked upon as inevitable for some days before her death took place. The Marquis of Lansdowne will remain in retirement at Bowood until after Easter.

A Liverpool paper states that Mr. William Brown, M.P., is shortly to revive a baronetcy from the Whig Cabinet, on account of his valuable services in connection with the construction of Sir Charles Wood's new budget.

It having been understood in the parish of Knightsbridge that the bishop would occupy the pulpit of St. Paul's, for the purpose of advising the congregation on their new and peculiar position since the removal of Mr. Bennett, and the simplification of the service there, a large congregation assembled on Sunday. Mr. Liddell, however, ascended the pulpit after prayers, and said that the bishop was so ill as to be unable to leave his house.

The funeral of Mr. Rushton, the late stipendiary magistrate of Liverpool, took place on Tuesday, and the thousands who attended to witness the interment of the deceased proved how deeply the worthy magistrate's removal is felt by all classes of the community. The procession, which included about fifty or sixty carriages, containing the mayor, magistrates, recorder, and several of the leading families of the town, was about one mile and a half in length. During the interment there were from 8000 to 10,000 spectators present, and, after the funeral obsequies were over, the tomb was visited by several thousands in addition, who continued to arrive at the Mount Cemetery until the gates were closed.

M. Guizot has commenced a series of biographical sketches of men who figured in the English revolution of 1640. The life of Ludlow has appeared as the first of this series.

The *Courrier de la Somme* having stated that Madame Ledru Rollin purchased, in 1848, some houses at Paris for 600,000f., and sold them recently, and having made these transactions the subject of insinuations to the effect that the money was improperly obtained by her husband when in power, M. Ledru Rollin has addressed a letter to that journal, stating that in 1843, 1844, and 1845, his wife placed nearly 600,000f. on mortgage on the houses in question; that the houses having been put up for sale at less than their value, she, in August, 1848, was obliged to purchase them, in order not to lose a considerable sum; that the sales recently made were forced ones, to repay previously existing mortgages; and that Madame Ledru Rollin had been compelled to make such sales at a loss by his political enemies. In the course of this letter M. Ledru Rollin states that his wife, on her marriage, had a fortune of 1,000,000f.

The political sensitiveness of the Prussian authorities has been recently tested by the intended production of *Masaniello* at the Berlin Italian Opera. A Government official attended the grand rehearsal, and, fearing that the effects of the music might operate prejudicially in the present state of the popular mind, prohibited the performance. To this circumstance is owing the fact that Signor Pardini has been enabled to come to London and appear in *Masaniello*, which is being got up for him at her Majesty's Theatre.

Three of the ablest and most eminent of the American editors of the last half century have died within the last three weeks. S. Skinner of Philadelphia, Isaac Hill of New Hampshire, and Mordecai M. Noah of New York.

A society is about to be formed in Paris, under the patronage of the Archbishop, the object of which is to supply bread to the poorer classes at twenty-five per cent. under the regular price.

A Constantinople letter in the *Risorgimento* of Turin states that public attention has been greatly excited there by the discovery of an immense treasure of Greek manuscripts, of the highest antiquity, found by a learned Greek of the name of Simonides, in a cave situated at the foot of Mount Athos. According to this account, the importance of this discovery is incalculable, since it brings to light a vast quantity of celebrated works quoted by various ancient writers, and hitherto deemed entirely lost. They furnish an extensive list of proper names, calculated to throw great light upon many obscure periods of history.

The accounts from Gold Bluff do not confirm the flattering statements which have been made of the mineral wealth of that region. The gold is found among the sand in particles so small that it cannot be separated by the ordinary process of washing, nor can mining be conducted to advantage in any part of that locality except by the aid of machinery.

A shocking murder was committed on the Chagres River about the last of February. The victims were eleven persons, passengers on board the steamship Empire City from New York, eight men, two women, and a child. As soon as the facts were known, a public meeting of the American citizens at Panama was held, in order to take measures for the apprehension of the murderers. Four persons have been captured, against whom there is supposed to be strong evidence of guilt.

Letters from San Francisco, of the 16th of February, in the *New York Journal of Commerce*, say:—"The rush to the mines exceeds all previous immigration. Recent discoveries on the Klamath, Scott, Trinity, and other rivers promise a rich and abundant reward to the industrious miner, and in consequence trade in all kinds of implements used by the miners is very brisk and active, the like probably never before known."

The election for Governor and Deputy Governor took place at the Bank of England on Tuesday, when the recommendation of the directors was adopted by the selection of Mr. Thomson Hankey, jun., and Mr. J. G. Hubbard to fill the respective appointments.

The Revenue Returns recently issued show an increase of £283,051 on the quarter ending April, 1851, and of £446,119 on the year ending April 5, 1851, as compared with those of last year at the same time. The increase on the quarter is chiefly under the heads of custom and excise. Under the head of property tax there is an increase of £20,342 on the quarter.

The Right Honourable Stuart Wortley, M.P., the Recorder for the City of London, in discharging the grand jury, at the London sessions on Saturday, said that he was happy to inform them that steps have been taken to relieve gentlemen from attending at the intermediate or adjourned sessions. The result of this arrangement will

be that they will have to attend at only four, instead of eight, sessions in the course of the year.

A bill has been brought into Parliament by Lord Seymour and Mr. Cornwall Lewis, to transfer the duties of paving, lighting, watering, and cleansing parts of the Crown estate in the district of the Regent's-park, and certain streets and places in Westminster, to the Commissioners of the Woods and Forests.

A public meeting was held at Willis's-rooms, on Wednesday evening, with the view of forming a district Literary and Scientific Association for the parishes of St. James's, Westminster, St. Ann's, Soho, and St. Paul's, Covent-garden. The Earl of Carlisle, who presided, said the object they had in view was to provide a reading-room for newspapers, reviews, and periodical publications, a library for works of more bulk and pretension, lecture-rooms, where lectures would be delivered by competent and approved persons, literary and scientific subjects, and to open classes for different branches of useful instruction. Dr. Lankaster read a brief report, and was followed by Sir H. De la Beche, who moved—"That a society be founded, to be called the St. James's Literary and Scientific Society," which resolution was carried unanimously.

The third monthly *soirée* in furtherance of the principles of the National Reform Association was held on Monday, at the London Tavern. Sir Joshua Walsley, who was in the chair, said, what they sought was the restoration of "a real balance of power, one in which the crown, the peers, and the people may each exercise their legitimate influence for the benefit of all. He did not care whether this power were Whig, Tory, or Radical, if it only represented the unbiased wishes of the people." Mr. Edward Miall afterwards delivered an eloquent lecture on the Suffrage, which was followed by a brief discussion.

The friends of the temperance cause held a meeting on Monday night at Exeter Hall, Mr. Charles Gilpin in the chair. The chairman said he could cite numberless instances from his own actual experience of the blessed effects of temperance habits; but on the present occasion it was proposed that they should have the opportunity of listening to those who could more especially speak of the benefits their own particular class of fellow workmen had derived. The meeting was then addressed by several working men engaged in different laborious occupations, all bearing testimony to the practical utility and efficiency of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks in connection with even the most arduous toil.

A family group meeting of the emigrants who are about to sail in the *Blundell*, the society's first ship of the season, which leaves England early next month, took place on Tuesday evening, at the Royal British Institution, City-road, for the purpose of being introduced to each other, and arranging all the necessary preliminaries for their voyage. It appears that 230 are going out by the next ship, sixty-four of whom have brothers and sisters in the colonies, and eighteen aged parents who have been sent for by their children, who, in most cases, have also forwarded £5 towards the expenses of the voyage. The expense of emigration for each person is £12, and the society lends £4 towards it. The receipts from the parties about to emigrate the next voyage amount to £1242 9s.

Sir George Grey stated, in the House of Commons, on Thursday evening, that an arrangement has been made with the dean and chapter of St. Paul's to open the area of St. Paul's Cathedral to the public without payment. This arrangement, however, only applies to those parts of the building for admission to which twopence has been hitherto paid; not to the dome and the higher portions, for admission to which payment will still be required. In anticipation of the order of Council, which is preparing to that effect, the area has been opened to the public free.

The alterations to the front of Buckingham Palace being now completed, all guests and visitors to the palace will enter through the iron gates next the centre gate of the enclosure to the east of the palace. The entrance gate will be that to the south of the centre; and that for exit, to the north.

The allotment of space at the "monster fair" to be held at the Hippodrome, Baywater, during the Exhibition, commenced on Wednesday. The ground marked out exceeds twenty-five acres, all of which will be covered with booths and shows. At Battersea park upwards of fifty acres of land have been portioned off for the holding of a fair. On Kennington-common a large fair will be held, another on Stepney-green, and one in Primrose-hill-park.

Mr. Chubb, the celebrated lock-maker, has been commissioned by the executive committee of the Great Exhibition to manufacture an apparatus (according to a design submitted by him) for the safe custody of the Koh-i-noor diamond. The plan adopted, whilst providing for the complete security of the gem, will allow a perfect view of its lustrous beauty to be had.

A number of young men, dressed in red uniform, and furnished with apparatus for cleaning clothes and shoes, have been stationed in the vicinity of the Exhibition building and west-end thoroughfares. They are all lettered, and wear badges inscribed "The Shoeblick Society." They have been selected to these offices from the London ragged schools, previous to be assisted to emigrate.

A Protectionist meeting was held at Lynn, West Norfolk, on Tuesday, which was attended by upwards of 1000 noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, land-agents, and farmers. Lord Sondes, who presided, said the owners and occupiers of land were in a state of distress and ruin; but the only evidence of that which he could furnish was the diminution in the quantity of cotton consumed last year, as stated by Lord Stanley at Merchant Tailors' Hall. It was resolved to petition Parliament in favour of "an import duty on foreign produce to protect British industry."

The nomination of candidates for the city of Coventry, in the place of Mr. Turner, the new Vice-Chancellor,

took place on Monday, when the Right Honourable Edward Strutt, late member for Derby, was nominated, as was Mr. Geach, of Coventry. No speeches were made by the proposer or seconder of either candidate. The polling commenced on Tuesday morning, and was kept up until four o'clock, when the numbers were—Geach, 1669; Strutt, 1091; majority in favour of Mr. Geach, 578.

Mr. Rutherford has accepted the vacant seat on the Scottish bench, and the Solicitor-General, Mr. Moncreiff, succeeds him as Lord Advocate. This, of course, creates a vacancy in the parliamentary representation of the Leith district of burghs; and the new Lord Advocate has presented himself to the constituency. It is not likely that there will be any opposition. The election is fixed for Monday next.

The nomination of a member to serve for the western division of Somersetshire, in the room of the late Sir Alexander Hood, took place at Taunton, on Thursday, when Mr. W. G. P. Langton was elected without opposition.

The vacancy for Aylesbury, caused by the unseating of Mr. Calvert, for bribery, is contested by Mr. Ferrand, Protectionist, and Mr. Bethell, Free Trader. The nomination took place on Thursday, when the show of hands was in favour of Mr. Bethell.

A meeting of three branches of the operative weavers employed in tickings, nankins, fustians, &c., was held on Saturday, in the neighbourhood of Manchester, to manifest their sympathy for the workpeople lately in the employ of Sir E. Armitage and Sons, who have completed the twenty eighth week of their strike. It appears that the operatives collect the sum of £169 weekly, of which £110 weekly goes to support the persons late in Sir E. Armitage's employ—350 in number. A regular procession of operatives from different districts was formed, and between 4000 and 5000 persons were collected together, who, having reached Pendleton, assembled in the open air. The language of the speeches was temperate and no breach of the peace took place.

A new trial in the case of Bainbridge v. Bainbridge, which has been so frequently before the public, was to have taken place at Stafford on Monday, but was prevented, to the great disappointment of a large audience, by an amicable arrangement. The terms, it is said, are, that the estate is to be valued and equally divided. The costs, which amount to about £20,000, are to be borne by the respective parties.

Samuel Harwood, one of the persons charged with the murder of the Reverend G. Hollett, but who was acquitted, was brought before the magistrates at Horsham, Sussex, on Monday, charged along with James Hamilton, one of the Uckfield burglars, with having broken into the dwelling-house of Mrs. Hagriet Stoner, of Kirdford, Sussex, on the 4th of June last, together with James Jones, Levi Harwood (now under sentence of death for the Frimley murder), John Stones alias Smith (transported for life for the Uckfield burglary), and John Isaacs. The inquiry was adjourned in order that the magistrates may consider whether they will accept Hamilton as an approver against Harwood.

William Grey Smythe, forty-seven, surgeon, who was tried at the Central Criminal Court this week, upon several indictments, charging him with felonious assaults upon girls of tender age, was found guilty and sentenced to transportation for life.

The trial of the Irish labourers, at Chester Assizes, charged with having taken a part in the Birkenhead riots a few months ago, was brought to a close on Tuesday. Of the six prisoners three were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, two to one year, and one was acquitted.

Lieutenant Marchland, of the United States navy, has brought home with him from Java a living upas tree, so famous for its real and fanciful poisonous properties. By his assiduous care it was preserved alive during the long voyage, and a few days before its arrival at Norfolk, Virginia, leaves sprouted forth. It has been presented to the National Institute at Washington, and can be seen at the new observatory. It was once rumoured and believed that the poisonous effluvia of the tree was so fatal that birds flying over it dropped dead, and that all vegetables died under it and far around it. It is now ascertained that the juice only is poisonous. Into this juice the savages dip their arrows, which then have a double fatality.—*New York Observer*.

Professor Salomon, of Harrodsburgh, Kentucky, has successfully applied the power of carbonic acid gas as a substitute for steam in propelling machinery for every purpose. The power of this gas has long been known to chemists, but their inability to regulate and govern it has prevented its use as a propelling agent. Professor Salomon claims to be able to control it with perfect safety, and asserts that it will afford a power equal to steam in one-fifth of the space, and one-hundredth part of the expense with both furnace and boilers. Experiments have recently been made in Cincinnati, which are said to be entirely satisfactory.—*Nashville Banner*.

A correspondent of the *Nonconformist* speaks of a remarkable female traveller who has arrived in London:—"She has distinguished herself by her extensive travels in distant lands; and, strange to say, she has gone immense distances without her companion, overcoming the greatest difficulties by her unaided genius, and penetrating into the midst of what Europeans are pleased to call 'the most uncivilized nations,' passing through them unseathed, without any other protection than her harmless disposition and her firm confidence in Providence. Mrs. Pfeiffer is a native of Vienna. During the earlier part of her life she attended with exemplary devotion to the duties of a wife and mother. When her children had grown up to manhood, and gained an independence for themselves, she then thought herself justified in following a propensity which was in her so powerfully at work, and which prompted

her to leave a comfortable home and many loving friends. She first directed her steps to Palestine and Egypt. After her return she visited Scandinavia and Iceland. Then she set out on a voyage round the world, landing in Brazil, surmounting the Parahyby, and penetrating through thick, primitive forests, to visit the aborigines at their own homes; then passing Cape Horn, touching at Valparaiso, she traversed the Pacific Ocean to Oahu and China, Singapore and Ceylon, as far as Kandy; wandering hence to Bengal, Hindostan, and Delhi, turning her steps to the caves of Adjunta and Ellora, to Bombay. From that spot she sailed through the Arabian and Persian Sea to Bassora, followed the Tigris up to Bagdad, continuing to pass over an immense country to Babylon, Mosul, Nineveh, into Kurdistan, and Persia's second capital, Tabris. Pursuing her course over Tiflis, along the Caucasus, she embarked at Redoubt Kali for Constantinople and Greece, whence she returned to her native country."

A marriage has just been solemnized in St. Cuthbert's Church, Wells, which, on account of the disparity in the ages and circumstances of the bride and bridegroom, has caused a deal of gossip and considerable merriment in this city, especially among the fair daughters of our quiet citizens. The happy and fortunate bridegroom was a full private in her Majesty's Blues, in his twenty fourth year, and the fascinating bride the owner of a china shop, a spinster "withering out her virgin thorn," the shady side of seventy. The wedding party was accompanied to the altar by a large concourse of juveniles, who lustily cheered the procession as it returned.—*Bristol Journal*.

A singular scene took place in Wombwell's menagerie at Rochdale on Saturday. There were about 150 persons in the exhibition, and while one of the keepers was showing the lion cubs at one end of the place, there was a dreadful crash heard at the other end. A huge and savage-looking animal, called a South American tapir, had broken loose from its den, and walked majestically forth into the space assigned for the visitors. The people were terribly alarmed, and ran about in all directions. The other animals were much excited by the noise and consternation produced, and the whole place shook with the sounds which issued forth from bipeds and quadrupeds combined. The keepers at length succeeded in replacing the animal in his den without any accident.

The *Falkirk Herald* says, that on Saturday last, there was an extraordinary flight from the town of single ladies and gentlemen of a certain age, who all duly reappeared on Monday morning.

A clothing firm in London the other day offered £850 for the outside end cover of the Exhibition Catalogue as an advertisement page! The offer was refused, the charge, it is said, being £1000.

A machine for cleaning shoes has just now been discovered and patented by a Devonshire parson. It sets in motion two brushes, by one of which the dirt is removed, and by the other the blacking applied, being burnished up to a mirror-like gloss. By this method a pair of shoes or boots can be cleaned in a few seconds.

The nomination of candidates for the representation of Enniskillen took place on Wednesday. Mr. Whiteside and Mr. Colhoun, the two candidates, severally addressed the electors, Mr. Whiteside in a speech of some two hours in length; and the polling was fixed for Friday. Mr. Colhoun is an avowed supporter of the Anti-Papal Aggression Bill, and both candidates are decided Conservatives. The constituency numbers only 172 voters.

The Limerick corporation have, by a division of seventeen to nine, rescinded the vote of censure on Mr. John O'Connell.

Baron de Schœpping, the chargé d'affaires for Russia at Lisbon, has transmitted to Ireland ninety thousand pounds, to be laid out in the purchase of encumbered estates.

The Cork journals announce an epidemic amongst horses in that district, which is becoming almost as fatal as the malady which proved so destructive amongst cattle last year.

Several cases of incendiarism have lately occurred in Ireland. Last week a poor man was burnt to death in a house of which his father had just obtained possession from a tenant who emigrated to America. The house was discovered in the morning enveloped in flames, but the neighbours declined to render any assistance. A stable, containing five valuable cows and two horses—the property of a respectable farmer residing near Sligo—was set on fire a few nights since, and all the animals which it contained were reduced to ashes. This was also the work of incendiaries, and the scene of destruction is described as having been a heartrending one.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

The last week has witnessed a great improvement in the public health. The deaths in the metropolitan districts, which had ranged above 1400 in the last three weeks of March, fell in the week ending last Saturday to 1059. But this is still a high rate of mortality, not only as compared with what prevails in country districts, under conditions more favourable to health, but also with that which the population of London usually suffer at this period of the year. In none of the ten corresponding weeks of 1841-50, with the exception of that of 1850, did the number of deaths exceed 1028, while the average of these weeks was 946, which, if a correction be made for increase of population, will become 1032. Compared with the latter estimated result, the deaths registered last week show an increase of 27. The cases in which the fatal cause is specified as influenza have now sensibly decreased; the number in this return is 23. Last week the births of 808 boys and 752 girls, in all 1560 children, were registered. The average of six corresponding weeks in 1845-50 was 1333.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter of G. H., on "The Money Question," will appear in our next.

W. B. S.—Excessive length alone prevents the insertion.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

All letters for the Editor to be addressed 9, Crane-court, Fleet-street, London.

POSTSCRIPT.

SATURDAY, April 12.

By a strong muster of the Protectionist party, aided by a majority of the Irish Catholic members, Ministers were almost beaten last night. Mr. Disraeli made a clever, satirical speech, in which he showed up Sir Charles Wood, and ridiculed the blustering of certain weathercock metropolitan members in his happiest style, but he did not promote the cause of protection much by anything he said. He commenced by giving a humorous history of the Ministerial crisis, its origin, character, and consequences. Parliament had opened with an admission by Ministers of the existence of agricultural distress, and a statement that they could do nothing to relieve it. Then came a long and grave discussion as to whether it was not the duty of Ministers, after the acknowledgment of such distress, to introduce some remedial measure. The proposition to that effect was negatived by a majority so small that "upon a subsequent occasion the First Minister confessed that the result of the division shook the Government to its centre. The frightened Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a due sense of the warning given, brought forward a budget within forty-eight hours after that division in which were included two measures to mitigate the distress of owners and occupiers of land. This was a step in the right direction. Ministers had first of all said that they could do nothing to relieve agricultural distress, but, finding the House strongly against them, they immediately came forward with certain measures to mitigate that distress. Still, however, their Budget met with a most unfavourable reception, much worse, indeed, than he (Mr. Disraeli) thought it deserved. Among the friends of Ministers there was a general outcry throughout the country, and especially in the towns:—

"There is hardly any term of vituperation, any epithet of obloquy, which was not showered upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer. (Laughter.) He was vilified, he was denounced, he was described as the Jonah who ought to be thrown into the surging waves to save the perilled craft. (Renewed laughter.) This was the proposal of one of his most eloquent supporters. (A laugh.) Indeed, it was generally understood among all the members of the Liberal party that, though they were prepared to make any sacrifice to keep the Tories out of office, still the *sine qua non* of their adhesion to the present Ministry was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should never appear again before the red box. (Laughter.) In the general discontent we might particularly recognise that which I would describe as the metropolitan discontent—(hear, hear)—a peculiar outcry, which has its characteristics, which threatens a great deal, but which does very little (a laugh)—which does not carry before it Bills like Birmingham, or corn-law repeals like Manchester, but which always deposits itself at a crisis in the most alarming manner (laughter), which always commences by announcing that it will 'stop the supplies,' and invariably ends by supporting the Minister. (Cheers and laughter.) Its reception in the House was not much more favourable, although he could not say that the country members had so much to say against it; indeed, one or two of them spoke rather favourably of 'the boon to the agriculturists,' as seeming to involve the concession of an important principle:—

"As to its reception by the agricultural community, among the constituencies out of the House, I certainly should find great difficulty in electing any terms of paucity that were lavished upon it—(a laugh)—that even the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not have anticipated—(laughter)—but I think I may defy even the researches of the Treasury to bring forward any expressions of importance in its condemnation."

Then came the Ministerial crisis, during which "public business was arrested and suspended for six weeks. Over that chaotic period, however, he would throw a veil and proceed to describe the reformed budget, which was a last brought forward, after almost convulsive effort on the part of Ministers to evade the exposition:—

"Great expectations existed in the public mind, and in this House too, that there would be considerable alterations in the scheme of the Ministry. The gentlemen who had described the Chancellor of the Exchequer as Jonah naturally felt some awkwardness in coming into this House to support the same budget which they had thus cursorily denounced. (Laughter and cheers.) We waited in great expectation (Hear, hear.) I give much credit to the right honourable gentleman that under the circumstances of the case he mainly adhered to the financial scheme which he originally proposed; it showed moral courage—(a laugh)—which both sides appreciate. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) But what surprised me most was that in the alterations that were made the

only persons who were considered were those who had declared that the right honourable gentleman was not worthy of public confidence—(hear, hear)—and that those alterations should have been made at the expense of that very party which had treated him at least with courtesy, and with the respect due to his eminent position. (Hear, hear.) On that occasion the right honourable gentleman, after readjusting his scheme for the repeal of the window tax, which required a greater fund than had originally been at his command, found those resources in a quarter which was unexpected, and in a manner I think unprecedented. (Hear, hear.) The right honourable gentleman wanted something like £200,000 more than his original plan had demanded. And what is it that he does? He takes up his pen, he scratches out the two remedial measures which were introduced to mitigate the distress and to assist the difficulties of the suffering land of England—(cheers from the Opposition)—and states as a reason, 'The propositions were received in an ungracious manner that I shall now show my sense of your conduct.' (Laughter and cheers.) I have always thought that Ministerial propositions in this House were the result of grave councils, of mature deliberation, of cabinet conference and communication—(hear, hear)—that they were suggested by a sense of public duty, by a large and unimpassioned survey of public circumstances—(hear, hear)—that they were not brought forward in jest, merely to gain party support—(hear, hear)—nor, on the other hand, were they to be withdrawn from a feeling of parliamentary or personal annoyance, and in a too of flippant caprice. (Hear.) But the fact, whatever may have been the motive, remains; the fact is, that we were so ungracious who were only silent under the rule that was proposed by the Government, I am bound to believe as the consequence of mature counsel and the sense of public duty, that it was withdrawn on the plea of our ungraciousness, and it was extended, in addition to the great relief which had already been proposed, and proffered, to I will not say an adverse, but to another, interest which had particularly distinguished themselves for the manner—the almost indecorous manner—with which they had treated the financial statement of the Minister. (Hear, hear.)

He went on in the same strain at some length, and then asked if such conduct on the part of Ministers was calculated to establish confidence in the suffering classes? As to the fact that there was suffering among the owners and occupiers of land, no one would attempt to deny it. Rents have fallen on an average ten per cent., and are likely to fall much farther. The capital invested in the cultivation of the soil, estimated at £800,000,000, had diminished in value one-third. If, then, there was a surplus revenue, and only one class enduring distress—all the other classes enjoying unprecedented prosperity—it became the Government to consider, if they distributed the surplus, in the remission of taxation, how they should mitigate the distress of the sole suffering class. The Government, after pressure and deliberation, had proposed two remedial measures; he would suggest, in addition, an exemption from the expense of galls. But a larger amount of relief to the occupiers of the soil might be found by dealing with the per-law expenditure, amounting to £5,200,000, of which less than £5,000,000 was applied to maintenance and out-relief of the pauper population, upwards of £1,700,000 being expended upon establishment charges and fixed salaries, which was fastened upon real property, and the proportion paid by Ireland fell exclusively upon the land. Mr. Disraeli discussed the details of this practical measure for the remission of a burden pressing upon the agricultural interest, urging upon the House that these were charges of which it could not be said that they were inherited with the land; he believed they never would have been placed upon the land had the repeal of the corn law taken place in 1830. 'The strain of this burden fell upon the farmers of this country, who, in the unprecedented struggle in which they were engaged, while their sufferings were recognized and their hopes encouraged by the Government, found themselves, year after year, in a worse position; and he wanted the House to sustain them by assurances of sympathy and justice. It was because he felt that the resolution was conceived in a spirit of justice, and that no sentiment of false shame need deter the Government from again reconsidering their Budget, that he hoped the House would, by carrying the resolution, terminate that sense of wrong, and soothe the wounded feelings of the class he had mentioned.

Mr. LABOUCHERE contended that the motion was a mere truism. He denied the allegation that the Budget had been adapted to obtain popularity in the towns; he contended that the landed interest was especially benefited by it; he was ready to show that the relief to the farmers in the commutation of the window tax would outweigh the remission of the income tax to the extent proposed by Mr. Herries, independent of the effect which the measure would exert upon the moral habits and sanitary conditions of the labouring classes.

Mr. GLADSTONE was not satisfied either with the Budget or with the amendment. Last session he had voted with Mr. Disraeli for going into committee to consider the poor law with reference to the relief of agricultural distress. But at that time there was no proposal to restore protection. The case was altered now. Lord Stanley had declared his intention to propose a duty on corn should he come into office, so that

the present motion must be viewed in a different light from the one he supported last year. Under these circumstances he felt himself bound to oppose the amendment. Mr. STAFFORD followed on the other side. Mr. ALCOCK should vote against the proposal of Mr. Disraeli; not because he did not feel deeply on behalf of the farmers and landed interest, but because he did not choose to follow a leader who was totally inconsistent and self-convicted of political dishonesty. Mr. J. SANDARS opposed the amendment because he did not think the land unjustly taxed. Lord JOHN MANNERS said the House was asked to decide whether justice should be refused to the agricultural classes, or in principle at least accorded. When complaints of agricultural depression were met by appeals to the prosperity of our manufactures and commerce, it should be shown, first, that that prosperity rested upon a firm foundation, which he doubted; and, secondly, that it must react favourably upon English agriculture, whereas the reaction was in favour of the foreigner. He endeavoured to show from trade circulars that the cotton trade was not in a very flourishing state. Mr. BRIGHT remarked that the followers of Mr. Disraeli embarrassed their leader, who renounced any project of returning to protection as the merest delusion. His proposition was, that the owners and occupiers of land (the labourers being excluded) had a special claim to some special relief; but he had not proved that they were suffering at all, and, if they were, he had failed to make out any special claim. The fall of rents had been to a very small extent—all property was liable to vicissitudes, and Mr. Disraeli had admitted that the fall of rents gave no claim for relief. The only agricultural class suffering real distress was that of the occupiers, owing to the low prices of produce; but this was not a rare malady connected with the land, and he denied that it proceeded directly or indirectly from legislation. The proposition of Mr. Disraeli was based upon the assumption that the land was unequally burdened in respect to the poor rate, whereas he believed that the land did not pay more than 40 per cent. of the whole poor rate in the kingdom, and the amount of the rate itself had fallen from £8,600,000 in 1833, to £5,395,000 in 1850. The true remedies for the distress of the occupiers must be found in the reduction of rents, the increase of produce, and the skilful adaptation of the powers of their farms; there was no remedy that Parliament could give. Mr. REYNOLDS made a long speech against free trade, and in favour of the amendment. Sir CHARLES WOOD said he need not have taken so much pains to defend his intended vote, as he had previously declared that on all occasions he would oppose the Government. He contended that his amendment of the proposal on the window duty gave the agriculturists far more relief than did the original plan. Taking the principal agricultural counties, he showed that the relief to Lancashire would be to the amount of not quite half what it now paid; to Yorkshire one half, to Hampshire two thirds, to Bedfordshire three fourths, and the same to Essex, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and that, in fact, the agricultural portions of the kingdom would gain far more relief than the towns. He next denied that the e had been any such reduction in the wages of agricultural labourers as had been asserted, or that wages had even fallen one half, as the prices of manufactures had. Mr. W. MILES, Mr. NEWDEGATE, Sir ROBERT PEEL, Sir W. JOLLIFFE, Colonel SIBTHORP, Sir T. D. ACLAND, Mr. KEOGH, and Mr. GRANTAN supported the amendment. Lord JOHN RUSSELL characterized the amendment as a delusion, and called upon the Protectionists to take up a bold and honest position rather than try to impose upon the country by these sham motions.

The House having divided, the numbers were—

For Mr. Disraeli's motion	250
Against it	263

Majority for Ministers

13
The result of the division was hailed by the Protectionists with several rounds of cheers. The House broke up at a quarter past two o'clock.

We understand that the third performance of the Printers' Dramatic Society will take place this evening at the St. James's Theatre, for the benefit of the Printers' Pension Society, under the patronage of his Royal Highness Prince Albert. Her Majesty has ordered her box to be retained.

The members of the Senior United Service Club held a meeting on Wednesday, and decided that all field-officers, captains, and commanders in the service of America, or other foreign states, who may come to England on duty, or properly accredited to their own minister or ambassador, shall be admitted honorary members of the club, and entitled to all its privileges during their stay in England.—*United Service Gazette*.

After a pretty hard struggle the contest for the representation of Aylesbury ended in the return of Mr. Bethell. The votes at the close of the poll stood as follows:—Bethell, 544; Ferrand, 518: majority, 26.

The *Globe* announces, on authority, that the execution of Levi Harwood and Samuel Jones, convicted of the murder of the Reverend Mr. Hollett, at Frimley, will take place on Tuesday next, at Horsemerger-lane Gaol.

The Leader

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1851.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—*Dr. Ansell*.

THE INCOME TAX MINISTERS AND THE INCOME TAX MEMBERS.

A FALSE system of representation results in a bad system of taxation: the Income tax is a punishment on the middle class for their endurance of an exclusive suffrage. The debate of Monday displays at once the inability and the unwillingness of the "People's" Chamber to deal with this subject. No party can achieve the fulfilment of justice; each one is deterred by some frivolous collateral difficulty, or aims at some indirect object.

There were two questions before the House of Commons—First, shall the Income tax be continued? Secondly, if continued, shall it be rendered just? Both these questions most vitally concern the public, but the public interest was set aside, and neither question was fairly handled or truthfully placed before the House.

The continuance of the tax was not discussed on its own merits; the tax was not defended on the principle by which alone it stands—namely, that it is desirable to transfer taxation from industry to property. The proposition laid by Ministers before the House was, to continue the Income tax and the Ministry, or to discontinue the Income tax, turn out the Free Traders, and admit the Protectionists to "power," as it is called; in other words, the House was called upon to vote for the joint continuance or discontinuance of Income tax, Whiggery, and Free Trade. Now those three things are not inextricably bound together, and it is "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare" to pretend that they are so. It is the deliberate choice of the Whigs to bind themselves to the Income tax, and any Ministry that chooses to do that is not worth keeping in office; certainly not worth any sacrifice of principle or any sacrifice of general convenience. When next you pay your Income tax, you may remember that what you are paying for is the continuance of the Russell Ministry. Free Trade demanded no such sacrifice. Everybody knows that it is perfectly safe. With a strong interest to promise largely, the Stanley party dares not say that it can set aside Free Trade or restore Protection. All who are acquainted with the history of the country and its commerce, and with the state of feeling in the country, know that the first attempt to restore Protection or abate Free Trade would arouse an impulse to settle the question, once for all, by finishing off at a blow the uncompleted extension of Free Trade. The expectations which the Stanley party has aroused among the farmers must be satisfied in some other way. Indeed, the joint Land and Labour question is coming on with an urgency that will not await the contention of parties, though the factions, lost in their petty wars, will probably find themselves unprepared to deal with something far more awful than Free Trade in its gigantic dimensions and inexorable necessities. Meanwhile, the most moderate proposal of a restrictive policy, say a five-shilling duty on corn, would be tantamount to proclaiming a rebellion, not only in Manchester, but in Hampshire. How then can the Free Traders in Parliament pretend that genuine substantial Free Trade was in the slightest degree at stake on Monday? Was it servility to the Lords of Downing street, or was it simple-minded cowardice, mere littleness of faith?

But Ministers, tyrannizing in their weakness, demanded the continuance, not only of the Income tax, but of the unimproved Income tax, and the "popular" Members consented! This was a gross dereliction of principle as well as duty. Every argument by which an Income tax is justified demands a re-modelling of this iniquitous tax, which spares its pressure on property to press the harder and the more mischievously on trade and professional industry. But, bewildered by their petty fears, their pettier dislikes, and still pettier likings, the Commons precluded themselves from dealing

with that practical question. They were pretending to debate the tax which is so hateful and injurious to the middle class, but what they were really fighting about was the rival interests of Whiggery and of Lord Stanley's set.

Let the electors understand that fact; indeed, they are not likely to forget it at the election. If they do not, at that critical day, take their revenge for the income tax it will be because they are too weak. The limited franchise still affords a field the better for political intriguers to work upon because it is limited. That field wants extending not less than the House of Commons wants thoroughly reorganizing—to be rendered in truth "the People's House of Parliament." The middle classes seem to have an advantage in the exclusive franchise, but practically they find that it does not secure justice even to themselves. They will obtain justice when they fortify themselves by union with the great body of the People.

LABOUR, ITS ANARCHY AND MORTALITY.

KILRUSH and Barham are only extreme cases of the inefficiency which marks the administration of the Poor Law and the anarchical state of labour. Sidney Godolphin Osborne is well employing his indefatigable pen in ferreting out the facts of the Kilrush case. It seems that during the three last weeks in March, the mortality among the inmates of the workhouse was respectively 68, 79, and 92—219 in twenty-one days!

"I now call upon Sir W. Somerville," says Mr. Osborne, through the *Times*, "to lay before the public six weeks' returns, dating back from the 29th of March last, of the deaths in this workhouse, specifying in each case the cause of death, the age, the sex, and how soon after admission the poor creatures died. This will prove, for I know it, that these hundreds have died, not because they had no infirmity to go to, but because, for want of out-relief sufficient to sustain health, they were at last driven to seek a refuge in workhouses so overcrowded and so shamefully managed as to dietary, that what neglect out of doors began, neglect within doors soon finished."

Mr. Osborne very properly repudiates the plea by which it is sought to excuse the scanty diet of Kilrush—that the rates amount to eleven shillings in the pound. What then? The existence of a Poor Law is an admission of the natural law, that the destitute have a right to subsistence, so long as there is a mouthful to be got out of the land—so long as there is anything "in the pound."

Mr. Osborne calls for the dismissal of the Kilrush board of guardians, a step which we believe to be imperatively necessary; but there is a still deeper necessity. By a slavish adhesion to the Protean dogma of *Laissez-faire*, it has been thought judicious to attempt mastering the destitution of Ireland without the corresponding effort to organize the reproductive labour of the country. Honour to the boards of Cork and Galway that have made that attempt under a law which impedes them, and indeed practically forbids any effective handling of the subject. The general Administration still cowers under the dogma, shrinks from the inevitable necessity, and procrastinates a decision. Hence the mortalities of Kilrush, the emigrations of Cork, the invasions of desperate hordes that flood the labour of this country with hungry competition.

This country, which is already making no small progress in the same anarchy of labour! We see the same failure in England—the same attempt to master destitution without organizing labour. Pressed under the consequences of Free Trade, under the inexorable demands of landlordism, we see how the farmers of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, are repudiating the obligation to employ labourers. Practically, the farmers and the landlords are inverting the Drummond axiom, that "property has its duties as well as its rights;" their conduct is a declaration that property has rights but *not* duties. Landlords and farmers repudiate the labourers, but they do not surrender the soil which they hold. They throw the labourers on their own resources—the Englishman, born to the land, but forbidden to lay his hands upon it, is told to look to himself for his food; as though he could eat himself, or plough an empty stomach! This is anarchy. The system of society, which we are told works so beautifully if it be but "let alone," breaks down.

The labourer is thrown upon the Poor Law—with results exemplified by this letter, which we find in the *Times* of Tuesday:—

"Barking, Needham, Suffolk, April 4.

"SIR,—At the weekly meeting of the board of guardians at Barham-house this day, the relieving officer, who attended to the correspondent of the *Times* in the month of February last that his district of this union had been

considerably better off than usual, was compelled to make no less than 112 distinct applications for relief, many of which comprised large families. And the governor of the house stated that prior to the business of this day commencing, the number of inmates was 413, on the corresponding day of last year the number having been 247, showing an increase of 166. The truth is, that the number of men able and willing to work but unable to obtain employment is fearful; these men look upon the workhouse as their last resource, but to which they are now driven, and they 'know the reason why.' By inserting this in your valuable paper you will oblige, your most obedient servant,

"FRANCIS STEWARD."

We are not theorizing, we are not drawing inferences; we are simply stating facts. We do not diverge into the statistics of crime, and its startling increase in Suffolk—for that, let the reader look at our news. The Let-alone dogma is impracticable; it is violated by the very attempt to deal with destitution; but the old dogma is violated without that confidence in the inevitable doctrine of organization which would alone attain positive results. Hence the Poor Law breaks down under the attempt to deal with destitution, both in Ireland and England; both in Ireland and England we have, under the anarchy of labour, idle hands and idle lands; the doctrine of Let-alone finds its crowning triumphs in the riotous pauper plethora of Barham Union, in the mortality of Kilrush.

AUSTRIA, THE EVERGREEN.

THERE is almost invariably a certain luck attendant on the career of a very young sovereign. The Austrian Empire would seem rejuvenized in behalf of its youthful master. A miracle of Heaven—or else of the opposite power—has been wrought there.

Truly, that singular monarchy has always been under the sway of supernatural agencies. It always bore a close resemblance to a conjuror's chamber of might, with its myriads of spirits bottled up by his magic spell, but ever ready to burst from confinement, and to tear the enchanter and each other to pieces.

The horse that wanted to run down the stag, begged to be saddled and bridled. The German who wished for undue advantages over the Slavonian or Lombard, offered his neck to the Austrian yoke. The Bohemian smarting for revenge, in his turn tendered his submission. In the mutual jealousies and ambition of its conflicting races, the Empire found its strength; indeed, it owed its existence to nothing else.

This has already continued for several centuries. 1848 seemed to have broken the spell. The imprisoned spirits went asunder, but the magic power had not lost all its ascendancy. The rancours and animosities of the enfranchised races were still to do their common tyrant a good turn. Magyar and Croatian, Czech and German, vied with each other in working out the submission of their fellow bondmen. Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland, the noblest European races were doomed to perish that Austria might live.

What is Austria? For a long time, from 1814 to 1848, simple people called the Great Magician by whom the monster Empire was kept together "Metternich," but the system was found to have outlived, as it had long preceded, the man. The wizard's name has more aptly and correctly been determined to be "bureaucracy."

Austria is a little old man—sometimes a snuffy bevvigged old courtier—sometimes a hair-brained used up libertine—never troubled with the least spark of genius, feeling, and principle, but with a vast amount of low cunning and mulish obstinacy, whom men designate as Prime Minister, and who is made to preside over that fabulous body of persons yeled the Aulic Council. There is never one people under the sun that would quietly submit to such a ruler. But here he has to deal not with one nation, but with an aggregate of nations: five or six main tribes, with endless divisions and subdivisions, without even a shadow of homogeneity or sympathy, without identity of religious faith or political progress, or even of material interests. The great problem of Government is not how to keep these nations under control, but merely how to pit them one against another.

We have said Austria is the Minister. The Minister is the only Austrian in Austria—the Minister, that is to say, and his million of underlings—the civil and military bureaucracy. The public servant in that hybrid state is taken indifferently from any of the conflicting races. He may be an alien, and, indeed, all the surer of success for it; but the moment he sets foot on official thresholds, or the moment he puts on a

white uniform, he becomes an abstraction—an Austrian, a member, that is, of that vast brotherhood, which demands the abnegation of all national ties—which, like that of Loyola, "kills the man when it creates the Jesuit."

Radetzky, Windischgrätz, Jellachich,—Wassenberg, Schwarzenberg,—the few soldiers and statesmen who did not despair of the country—that is, of the bureaucratic order—were more imperial than the Emperor—more Austrian than the very head of the house of Hapsburg. They were a nucleus around whom the million of Austria's household menials rallied. Nationality fell by internecine hand—and Austria was reconstituted.

From the very fact of the empire being enabled to weather the storms of 1848, merely by the vital principle of her bureaucracy, there arose a necessity of giving new extent and perfection to that wonderful engine of power. Metternich's ideas of centralization were those of a mere tyro by the side of those that Schwarzenberg and his colleagues now entertain, and which they must either perish or carry into effect. 1849 gave Austria one army. The army lends her the power of drilling the huge state into a passive, absolute, more than military unity. Austria is proceeding rapidly towards the sublimation of despotism. The state of siege becomes permanent law: the empire a vast camp where all opposition is dealt with as mutiny.

All this terrific concentration of power is not, however, turned exclusively to evil purposes. A very great despot has it in his power to be prudent, and can afford to be generous. Austrian bureaucracy knows how to rule in its own way: it has a certain huge, plodding, but not altogether blind and fatal activity. There is a certain heavy uniformity that stands instead of regularity of administration; a certain summary, jacha-like, but strict and equal justice. The vast resources of the state are to a great extent employed in the furtherance of public welfare. In front of all its financial difficulties, at the close of long civil wars, with the expenditure of more than half a million of soldiers, Austria still finds the means of driving her railways as far as Debreczin on the east, and as far as Trieste and Leghorn on the west. Her provinces thrive even as they fret and murmur. Men fond of what they call "quiet living" are ever loud in praise of Austrian security. "Make yourselves hoarse," says the Circe of Schönbrunn, "and you will be allowed to fatten undisturbed;" and it is astonishing how readily, in ordinary times, the majority of human beings "take to the sty."

This, however, so far as the internal policy is concerned. With the immense discontent still rife not only in Lombardy and Hungary, but even amongst the more devoted races of Croatia and Slavonia, it would be difficult to see how any immediate apprehension of domestic commotions can be entertained by Austria at the present moment. Abroad she has no less hitherto been able to carry everything before her. Her troops reach the Mediterranean in Tuscany, and the German Ocean in Schleswig-Holstein. Her diplomatists bully the French at Rome, the Prussian at Dresden, the English at Frankfort. Her plans of annexation are a fate for Germany, a law for Europe. It is in vain, we think, that Lord Cowly protests against the incorporation of all the Italo-Slavonic provinces of Austria into the German Confederacy. In vain that Prussia seeks for an escape from utter annihilation by a return to the old Frankfort Diet. Prussia as well as England, nay, all the constituted powers, have acknowledged the ascendancy of might over right. They have disavowed—helped to trample down—the revolution. Now, the revolution of 1848 was a death-struggle between Austria and Europe. Austria came off a conqueror, and the necessary consequence will be the total prostration and enslavement of Europe. Italy, Switzerland, Germany are already brought sufficiently low. France, by sheer suicide, is doing her utmost to put herself hors de combat; and England has yielded her ground on the Continent, inch by inch, till her diplomatic agents do little more than swell the vain pageantry of foreign courts.

The Berlin papers, sometime also those of Paris, would fain console us by the assurance that the firm countenance of their respective Governments is at last stemming the tide, and forcing Schwarzenberg "to draw in his horn." We perceive no symptoms of hesitation or fenceance on the part of the Cabinet of Vienna. They see their advantage, and are determined to us it. Once more we repeat: Austria must lord it over Germany in spite of Prussia, over Italy in spite of France—her ascendancy is already undisputedly established over

those countries, in fact, however rancorously it may be denied in words. It is possible that Austria may have yet some scores to settle with her Russian auxiliary: her towering ambition may come to a collision with another no less grasping, no less inflexible will. But is Europe to look for her deliverance to Nicholas of Russia? and are we quite sure that the two huge enemies of mankind will fall off now the prey is safely laid before them, now their interest so strongly urges them peaceably to divide it between them?

For the hundredth time we repeat it: the revolution of 1848 was an European necessity. Its aim was to set up national against bureaucratic claims: to give life to Germany, Hungary, Italy, and Poland at the expense of Austria and Russia. It was the sacred duty of France and England to avow and to favour that revolution to the best of their abilities: to take up the question of nationality as vital to themselves. Their hesitation, their half interference, their cowardly connivance, decided the fortune of the day in favour of the great slayers of nations—of the great foes of humanity.

All must be lost now, or we must begin afresh: revolution must needs be more than ever the order of the day throughout Europe. God speed Mazzini and Klapka: all the sleepless agitators, all the generous, uncompromising adversaries of Russia and Austria! Such must be the war cry, not merely in Italy or Germany, but in France and England too—so long, at least, as France and England consider their own interests as bound up with those of human progress and well-being. We have too long played traitors to our own cause: too long have stood by and seen the slaughter of our brethren. May God forgive us and give us strength to make amends!

SIR CHARLES WOOD'S CONFESSION.

No man can be taxed save with his own consent by his representative in Parliament—such is the constitutional dictum: in the following passage from Sir Charles Wood's Budget speech, on Friday, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer acknowledges, not only that the great mass of the People, which bears the mass of the taxes, is unrepresented, but that it is not even *virtually* represented, and cannot exert "a pressure":—

"I never turned to the right or to the left to consider what would be a benefit to one class or another; but I have looked to that which, in my opinion, would be most beneficial to the great body of our labouring and working population. They, to a great extent, are not represented in this House; they cannot put pressure upon those who sit here, which will induce them to advocate their peculiar interests; and they are, therefore, in my opinion, the special objects of the care and solicitude of the Government; government being instituted for the benefit of the many, and not of the few."

Ministers, therefore, are the Members for the People—Members by Universal Suffrage! Only they are self-appointed.

Sir Charles's confession is ominous for his party. In 1841, Lord John Russell stood up manfully for the "unrepresented millions," whom he remembered in his taxation schemes—just as he was going out of office. Sir Charles Wood's perceptions are becoming clearer, his voice stronger, as he begins to snuff the wholesome air of Opposition.

UNDER-PAID BISHOPS.

The Reverend Alexander Maclellan, a clergyman belonging to the poor and persecuted Episcopal Church in Scotland, has addressed a letter to Sir George Grey, suggesting a very different line of policy from that which Lord John Russell proposes in his Papal Aggression Bill. Instead of denuding the Scottish Episcopate of "its inoffensive and prescriptive or distinctive boundaries of jurisdiction," he has the hardihood to ask Ministers "to restore to the Scottish Episcopal Church at least a portion of (what was formerly its own) the bishops' rents in Scotland—say £200 a-year to each bishop, and £100 a-year to each clergyman." What a primitive idea! "Two hundred a-year to a bishop!" The Bishop of London's butler would turn up his nose at such a paltry salary. And yet Mr. Maclellan has the assurance to promise that with that miserable endowment they would soon "bring back the unthinking multitudes, and make them like her own sons." What a monstrous libel this involves upon the Bishop of London, who has £20,000 a-year, and is utterly unable to prevent his clergymen from going over in shoals to the Church of Rome; and solely, we believe, for want of a policy in the Church of England that should be at once liberal and positive.

MR. CALCRAFT AT HOME.

Among the trades which have been prosperous this year is that of the Hangman. He has been busy, is so, and is to be so again.

Even so soon after Sarah Chesham and Drory have been the materials for one of Mr. Calcraft's entertainments at Chelmsford, two of the Frimley murderers have been sentenced to death on the evidence of the third, perhaps the most guilty; and Patrick Lyons lies under sentence of death, without hope of commutation, for the murder of Margaret Fahey, at Warrington. In both those cases, Mr. Calcraft will have an opportunity of displaying his skill to large crowds, collected to gaze upon the death struggle of the murderers.

But even when that is done, there is every prospect that more employment will be found for the public functionary in Gloucestershire.

The fact is that his employment is reproductive: if murders occasion executions, executions suggest murders. The poverty, the ignorance, and the disorganized state of labour in all parts of the country, but particularly in certain agricultural districts, materially aid the effect of Mr. Calcraft's exhibitions. In spite of Maconochie's revolutionary ideas, the gallows-tree is an institution which seems to have a better chance of standing than some others.

THE FRANKLIN SEARCH.

We heartily concur with the regret expressed by the *Morning Chronicle*, that the Admiralty has resolved not to send a screw-steamer to Melville Island for the purpose of communicating with Captain Austin. In the expeditions to the Arctic regions there are three objects to be served—the conveyance of support, moral as well as material, to those already engaged in the search; the rescue of Franklin and his party, if they are still alive; and the discovery of their remains if they have perished, so that their fate may be satisfactorily known.

The last object is scarcely less important than the other two. It cannot be impossible to find the relics of such an expedition, whatever may have become of it; and it will not only inflict the greatest pain upon all Franklin's countrymen, if the search be abandoned prematurely, but it will cast an indelible stain upon the history of the nation.

The plea of the officials is expense, "useless expense." It is not useless, if it satisfies the just anxiety of the public; and as to its amount, the very beggar in the streets would not grudge the penny that may be exacted from him for the purpose. Lady Franklin's unceasing sacrifices ought not only to be shared, but entirely superseded, by the national efforts. It will be a sacrilege to spare any cost or any exertion until we have brought back Franklin and his companions, dead or alive.

LORD STANLEY AND THE CHURCHMEN.

The Protectionist Premier-expectant does not seem to be much higher in favour with the Puseyites than Lord John Russell has lately been. The *English Churchman*, the organ of that party, in speaking of the steps taking by the country party to thrust Lord Stanley into Downing-street, warns its friends to take care what they are doing:

"Before Churchmen assist him, it would be well for them to remember that Lord Stanley destroyed ten Irish bishoprics, established the national system of education in Ireland: robbed the Irish Church of twenty-five per cent. of her tithes; and declared, at the foundation of the Liverpool Collegiate Institution, that it might be the duty of the Government 'to support a false religion.' So far as we know, he has never expressed the slightest regret for these things, nor has he distinctly said that he is in favour of the restoration of Convocation. Churchmen had better wait at present, and not take any steps which they might afterwards regret."

Looking at these antecedents of Lord Stanley, the Dissenters might reasonably conclude that he would do more for them than Lord John is ever likely to do.

THE LORD'S ANOINTED.

ONE of the happy subjects of his Neapolitan Majesty was playing *carte* in a café at Caltanissetta, in Sicily. The "King" had already turned up against him twice and thrice: it came out again, once more than the good Sicilian's patience could well put up with. The poor player snatched it from the table, crumpled it up in his rage, threw it on the ground, trampled upon it, not improbably with an oath or two against his implacable bad luck.

Believe it who can! but we have it from the authority of honest private letters—the man was arrested as he issued from the café and brought before the magistrate to answer for his disrespectful treatment of a "crowned head"! Oh Gemini! High treason against the King of Spades!

FAITH V. ASSENT.—The highest truth, if professed by one who believes it not in his heart, is to him a lie, and he sins greatly by professing it. Let us try as much as we will to convince our neighbours; but let us beware of influencing their conduct when we fail in influencing their convictions. He who bribes or frightens his neighbours into doing an act which no good man would do for reward, or from fear, is tempting his neighbour to sin; he is assisting to lower and to harden his conscience; to make him act for the favour or from the fear of man, instead of for the favour and from the fear of God; and, if this be a sin in him, it is a double sin in us to tempt him to it.—*Arnold's Christian Life.*

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review.*

MAGNA EST VERITAS: great is Democracy, and it will prevail! Paternal Governments seen from afar present a most engaging aspect—

"'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view."

But on a nearer inspection they exhibit less of paternal tenderness and solicitude than of the irritable father's wilfulness and selfishness. ("Don't make that noise, sir, or I'll turn you out of the room: how do you think I can sing while you are kicking up that row!") Austria has lost a friend in Mr. GLADSTONE, who recently, in Italy, attended several of the political trials, and examined the working of the paternal Governments, Naples and Austria, the result of which has been to make him side with the Italians against Austria; and he is now said to be writing a book on the subject. What will the Friends of Order say?

Apropos of Order—that shibboleth of foolish minds—as if any society could exist without Order! as if the abstract perfection of Stability and Security were identified with the disorderly Order these men wish to maintain! there is a capital witicism flying about Germany, imported from the *Posen spiele* at Vienna. A timid Austrian returns to his native Vienna, and addresses to the first man he meets this question, "*sag' sie 'mal: ist's Ordnung hier—oder noch Freiheit?*" Tell me: does Order reign now—or has Freedom still the upperhand?

So differently do serious thinkers regard this "question of Order," that the most destructive philosopher of the present day, the one who would effect the most sweeping change in the present order of society—who would introduce a new order growing up from a new root (AUGUSTE COMTE) has taken for his motto these grand but simple words:—

"ORDER AND PROGRESS,"

intimating that in lieu of a Party of Order and a Party of Progress—a Conservative and Radical philosophy—there must be a Party uniting the two—not as the Whigs profess to do it, by jilting both, but as the Static and Dynamic Laws of social life prescribe.

We see in the French papers the announcement of COMTE's public lectures on the History of Humanity, and the announcement is headed *Ordre et Progrès*. It may interest some of our readers to know that this great thinker, who accepts with profound seriousness his mission as a philosopher, has for many years given gratuitous public lectures every Sunday during six months of the year, wherein he has popularized the general truths of science, and impressed upon the people his leading ideas on social and historical questions. The course now announced is destined to demonstrate the intimate connection of the Present with the whole Past, in order to lead up to the conception of a social Future, and to assist the transition by the aid of that philosophy of history which characterizes Positivism. Can none of our English Teachers imitate so fine an example?

In the *Quarterly Review* just out there is a paper on *Centralization* which we commend to the attention of our philosophic readers, as uniting in a very unusual degree largeness of conception with prodigality of detail, theoretic power with great felicity of style. The opinions therein maintained are so important that we shall next week consider them in a separate article.

The Republic, Social and Democratic, is to have a new organ in the London press—the *Friend of the People*, edited by JULIAN HARNEY and ERNEST JONES. Its leading characteristic will be the union of Chartist and Associative principles; but it promises to be a complete exemplar of the weekly newspaper. ERNEST JONES is a practised and adroit leader of the English Democratic party; JULIAN HARNEY possesses the influence due to a compre-

hensive grasp of his subject, strong feeling, and powerful eloquence. The journal is likely to give a new elevation to the literature of the democracy.

It is sometime since Mrs. NORTON has published anything. There is always so numerous a public to welcome what she puts forth, that the announcement of a new novel by her will be good tidings. We observe also that the charming author of *Margaret Maitland, of Sunnyside*, has another volume ready—both of which announcements will be received with superb disdain by those peculiar and "highly intellectual" persons who "never read novels!"

Now, there are two reasons for not reading novels: one being want of time; the other an affectation of superiority. Those who are forced to plead the former, we condole with; those who assume the latter we are apt to despise, having generally found them among the most stupid, most narrow-minded, and most ungenerous of natures. To put the question on this ground: surely the works written by great men, and by men whom the persons we are addressing would consider even still weightier examples—statesmen—cannot belong to a class altogether frivolous! GOETHE, the greatest of modern intellects, wrote novels; VOLTAIRE wrote them; DIDEROT wrote them; BOCCACCIO wrote them; Lord JOHN has tried his hand at them; Lord NORMANBY has succeeded; so has CHATEAUBRIAND, the ambassador; and REMUSAT and VILLEMARIN, both Ministers and grave professors: probably GUIZOT, who has written a tragedy, has somewhere the MS. of a romance in his austere portfolio! Surely these men—by no means among the best writers of fiction—have given that department of literature enough "respectability and gravity" to make it a venial error if we sometimes condescend, from our great altitude, to "look into" these frivolous works? And, after all, is it not desirable now and then to relax somewhat of our austere superiority? But there are some men who never relax,—they fear lest they should fall to pieces!

This by way of preface to the announcement that the Novelists have another ministerial addition. In that "world," which is to the actual world what our globe is to the universe, there is gossip about *Le Dernier D'Egmont*, a new novel, by the Comte de JARNAC (he will not, we hope, consider our betraying him a *coup de Jarnac*?) who has also the credit of having written a novel in English! Beside his volumes lie the concluding volumes of *La Bonne Aventure*, by EUGENE SUE, and the third volume of that "seizing story," *Dieu Dispose*, by A. DUMAS—flanked by a grave and attractive volume: *Etudes Biographiques sur la Révolution d'Angleterre*, by GUIZOT: it contains sixteen biographical "studies" of the remarkable people of that period, Denzil Hollis, Ludlow, May, Sir Philip Warwick, John Lilburne, Fairfax, Mrs. Hutchinson, Sir Thomas Herbert, Price, Clarendon, Burnet, Buckingham, Reresby, &c., and will be greedily caught at by all historical readers.

Whoever has been recently at Berlin will remember a noble bronze group—"the Amazon"—which stands on the pedestal near the staircase of the Museum. It is fourteen feet high, and as a work of Art has won the suffrages of all connoisseurs. Professor KISS, the sculptor, has now executed another cast of this group in bronzed zinc! The novelty of this material, and the great suggestion it affords to artists in future, will render the *Amazonengruppe* an interesting feature amidst the crowded variety of the Exhibition—to say nothing of its attraction as a work of Art; for were not zinc less valuable than bronze this cast would be equal to the original in Berlin. Herr GRISS, of Berlin, is, we believe, the originator of this novel employment of zinc, and has established in Berlin a manufactory for the preparation of this material—which is abundant in the Silesian mountains—and has brought over to our Exhibition casts of BAILY's "Eve at the Fountain," CANOVA's "Hebe," and other works.

LIFE OF PENN.

William Penn. An Historical Biography. With an Extra Chapter on the "Maccabey Charges." By William Hepworth Dixon. Author of "Life of Howard." With a Portrait. Chapman and Hall.

"The Life of William Penn" is in many respects an admirable book. If it presents us with a somewhat shadowy and mythical figure in place of the living flesh and blood—sublimating the Hero, and losing sight of the Man—it more than compensates for this very general biographical defect by the abundance and picturesqueness of its materials, the diligence of its compilation, and the energy of its narrative. By looking into sources which Quaker biographers never thought of consulting, Mr. Dixon has brought together a mass of facts of direct and collateral interest, which make his book substantially a new one. At the same time we must caution the reader against placing too great confidence in the display here made of independent research; a variety of indications suggest this suspicion, the most striking of them being the strange silence with respect to Mr. W. E. Forster's pamphlet in answer to the charges against Penn in Macaulay's History. To the evidence furnished by that pamphlet, Mr. Dixon has not added much in his swagging "Extra Chapter on the Maccabey Charges," wherein he takes the celebrated historian roundly to task; yet he has nowhere made the slightest acknowledgment of his predecessor's labours; he treats the subject as if it were now for the first time opened by himself ("Alone, I did it");—he makes no allusion to Mr. Forster amid the ostentatious acknowledgments of the preface; indeed, except on one occasion to point out a "mistake," he never mentions Mr. Forster's name, and then he avoids naming the pamphlet! To put the mildest construction on this silence, it is strangely at variance with literary etiquette.

This, however, in no way diminishes the value of Mr. Dixon's book, which is a solid piece of biographical-historical composition, well grouped in its details, interesting in its matter. It aims at bringing before the mind a picture of the times, as well as a narrative of Penn's life; and not the least successful portions are those which critics of a former day would have pronounced mere digressions. Testing the book by the standard it seems to claim, we should say: It shows that the author knew what ought to be done, rather than that he knew how to do it—the intention is picturesque, the materials are picturesque, but the artistic power is wanting. Algernon Sidney, Locke, George Fox, Tillotson, Sunderland, Charles II., James II., and men of all types are disposed in groups; but the groups are not animated, the figures do not move. In a word, Mr. Dixon has no dramatic faculty. Yet if, instead of testing his "Life" by a high standard, we test it according to the standard afforded by ordinary biographies, then we say it rises into positive excellence, and deserves our hearty praise.

We knew nothing of Penn as to "what manner of man" he was, before reading this volume; nor can we boast of any clear view of his character now. Yet certain points of it are brought out in these pages so as to excite curiosity. Mr. Dixon has dexterously given due prominence to the courtly elegance and scholarly accomplishments of his hero. Penn was no respectable gentleman in drab colour:—

"Meek, and much a liar!"

he was a scholarly Quaker, a fine gentleman, and an earnest man, who united in a curious manner the diplomacy and tact of a courtier and a lawyer with the unshaken constancy of a martyr and the fervent conviction of a fanatic. We never lose sight of this characteristic. Mr. Dixon manages without ostentation to keep us aware of it throughout; and it is the one great point for which we are most grateful to him, as it gives us a new idea of Penn.

There is by no means too much Quakerism in the book. Enough, however, to indicate the true position of Penn, and the intellectual troubles of the masses:—

"In looking back to that period it is too much the habit to confine attention to the extraordinary variety of opinions which prevailed in politics—the social state was even more anarchical. Between Hampden and Falkland the space was narrower than between Laud and Fox. If in political ideas, from the school of divine right, through the educated democracy of Milton, down to the wild republicanism of the Fifth-Monarchy Men, all was confusion,—the religion of the numberless sectaries was still less reducible to order. The mere names of the leading sects into which the Church had dissolved itself in a few years are suggestive. Only to name a few of them, there were:—Anabaptists, Anti-

nomians, Antiscripturists, Antitrinitarians, Arians, Arminians, Baptists, Brownists, Calvinists, Eucharists, Familists, Fifth-Monarchy Men, Independents, Libertines, Muggletonians, Perfectionists, Presbyterians, Puttans, Ranters, Seepites, Seekers, and Socinians. Fresh and Powell, worthies of the Anabaptist faith, openly preached at Blackfriars a war of conquest and extermination against the continent of Europe. Their eyes lay more especially on the inheritance of the Dutchman:—God, they proclaimed, had given up Holland as a dwelling-place for his saints, and a stronghold from which they might wage war against the great harlot. The Fifth-Monarchy Men protested against every kind of law and government: Christ alone, in their opinion, ought to reign on earth, and in his behalf they were anxious to put down all lawgivers and magistrates. The Levellers were at least as mad as any sect of Communists or Red Republicans of modern date. The national mind was in a paroxysm of morbid activity; and the bolder sort of spirits had cast away every restraint which creeds and councils, laws and experience impose on men in ordinary times. Institutions which are commonly treated with a grave respect even by the unbelieving, were made the subject of coarse jokes and indecent mummeries. In the cant of the time a church was a tabernacle of the devil, the Lord's Supper a twopenny ordinary. St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey were both used as stables for horses and as shambles for butchers. Hogs and horses were taken to fens filled with foul water, and baptized according to the established ritual, for the amusement of common soldiers and the painted women who attended the camp as their paramours. Mares were allowed to foal in cathedrals, and the lowest troops to convert the most sacred edifices into beer-shops. Even our venerable abbey, the resting-place of kings and heroes, was for a time used as a common brothel. The sarcasm of the soldiers was—that as the horses had now begun to attend church the reformation was at length complete. Sober and religious men were equally insane. A sect arose which professed to believe that a woman has no soul, no more than a goose. Another body of grave men believed there is no difference between good and evil. Atheists became numerous; and, as usual, atheism was attended with the lowest and most degrading superstitions. In more than one part of the country prostitution was practised as a religious ordinance. One fellow was found with no less than seven wives, another had married his father's wife, a third, after having seduced a wretched woman, gave out that she was about to be delivered of the Messiah."

We like Mr. Dixon better as a compiler than as a philosopher; his remarks seldom wander from commonplace, and when they do we cannot compliment them for sagacity. Two pages after those just quoted he thus philosophizes:—

"The very year in which Penn's father had so fondly welcomed his birth, a rude, gaunt, illiterate lad of nineteen, a shoemaker by trade, and affected with the religious fervour of the age, being at a country fair in his native Leicestershire, met with his cousin and another friend there,—and the three youths agreed to have a stoup of ale together. They accordingly adjourned to a tavern in the neighbourhood and called for drink. When the first supply was exhausted, the cousin and his friend called for more,—began to drink healths, and said that he who would not drink should pay the entire ale-score. The young shoemaker was alarmed at this proposal—for he was low in purse, and honest in his dealings; whereupon, as he explained the circumstance afterward, he put his hand into his pocket, took out a groat, laid it down on the table, and said:—'If it be so, I will leave you.' And so he went home."

"This simple village alehouse incident was one of the most important events which had yet happened in the history of the Anglo Saxon race; for out of it (!) was to come Quakerism, the writings and teachings of Penn and Barclay, the colony and constitution of Pennsylvania, the republics of the west, and in no very remote degree the vast movement of liberal ideas in Great Britain and America in more modern times. The illiterate and upright shoemaker, who would drink no more ale than he could pay for, was George Fox."

This is the sort of "historical causation" we find commonly enough in some sceptical writers of the last century, and in the writings of Paul de Kock; but, although

"Great events from trifling causes spring,"

the philosophy of history now accepted among thinking men is certainly not one to trace the genesis of a great religious movement to an alehouse incident!

But let us pass on to Quakerism (merely adding a note of admiration to the clause about Origen and the Neo-Platonists):—

"Fox had got an idea in his mind,—and ideas rule the world. It was not his own in the first instance; nor did he ever perceive its true relation to other systems of thought and religious creeds. It was the ancient mystic idea,—adopted by Origen and faintly to be traced in the speculations of the Neo-Platonists, that there lies concealed in the mind of every man a certain portion of Divine light—a real spark of the infallible Godhead. This mysterious light the Mystics had found the highest guide of human conduct, and Fox had somewhere caught at the doctrine. It suited his restless and imperious instincts: it made of man a god. When he began to preach the doctrine, he took its boldest forms. The inner light, he said, was above any outward teaching. Law, history, experience, revelation itself was liable to error; the Divine light was alone infallible. Of the diagnosis of his case he had but a confused and imperfect notion; whether this inner light was the thing some men call conscience

others reason, was a question he never troubled himself to answer; for he had a huge distrust of human learning and human inventions, but none of the promptings of his own spirit. What he calls a 'Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and the seven arts,' he regarded as little better than devilry and paganism. The knowledge of many tongues, he said, began with rebellion against God; and at the beginning, therefore, languages were accursed, and so they continued; it was the woman and the beast who had power over tongues. God, he contended, stood in no need of human learning; to which South replied very finely—'If God does not stand in need of human learning, still less does He stand in need of human ignorance. But Fox went on his way rejoicing. The inner light was enough for him and for all men. Even the Scriptures were to some extent superfluous; and he ventured to reject them when they could not be made to harmonize with the light within. Never was there a greater innovator than this George Fox. Philosophies, religions, arts, legislations, were as nothing in his system. Every man was complete in himself; he stood in need of no alien help; the light was free of all control—above all authority external to itself. Each human being, man or woman, was supreme.

"Here was an intellectual basis for democracy! In an age of anarchy, when men were running to and fro in search of a revelation, a doctrine like this naturally attracted to itself many of the more restless and dissatisfied spirits; and as each of these added to its dogmas his own peculiar vagaries and oddities, the followers of George Fox, or the Children of Light, as they called themselves, were for several years only known to the general religious world by the extravagance of their behaviour: an extravagance which in many cases amounted to a real insanity. Entering and disturbing churches and dissenting congregations in the manner of their master, was the most innocent mode of displaying their new-born zeal. This they considered a sacred duty; and they performed it not only in England, where their tenets were understood, but in foreign towns and cities very much at their personal peril. Divers persons among them were moved of the spirit to do things—some fanatical, some indecent, some monstrous. One woman went into the House of Parliament with a trenchard on her head, to denounce the Lord Protector, and before the face of his Government dashed the trenchard into pieces, saying aloud—'Thus shall he be broken in pieces.' One Sarah Goldsmith went about the city in a coat of sackcloth, her hair dishevelled, and her head covered with dust, to testify, as she said, against pride. James Naylor gave himself out as the Messiah; and a woman named Dorcas Ebery made oath before the judges that she had been dead two days and was raised again to life by this impostor. Gilbert Latye, a man of property and education, going with Lord Obery into the Queen's private chapel, was moved to stand up on one of the side altars and inveigh against Popery to the astonished worshippers. One Solomon Eccles went through the streets, naked above the waist, with a chafing dish of coals and burning brimstone on his head,—in which state he entered a Popish chapel and denounced the Lord's vengeance against idolaters. William Symson, says Fox, who never did these things himself, was moved to go at several times for three years, naked and barefooted, in markets, courts, towns and cities—to priests and great men's houses, as a sign that they should be stripped naked even as he was stripped naked. There seemed to be a general emulation as to who should outstrip the rest,—and many persons went about the streets of London in all the nudity of nature. Most of the zealots, however, kept to the decencies of a sackcloth dress; and with their faces besmeared with grease and dirt they would parade about the parks and public places, calling to the people as they passed, that in like manner would all their religions be besmeared. One fellow, who seemed to have had more of purpose in his madness than the others, went to Westminster with a drawn sword in his hand, and as the representatives came down to the House he thrust at and wounded several before he could be arrested. On being asked by the Speaker why he had done this, he replied that he had been inspired by the Holy Ghost to kill every man who sat in Parliament. No wonder that the prisons were crowded with Quakers, as they were with enthusiasts and innovators of every other kind!

These enthusiasts not only preached the doctrines of social and political equality; they aimed at the establishment of an universal religion. Fox himself appealed to the highest and to the lowest. He wrote to admonish Innocent XI. and tried to convert the Lord Protector Cromwell. He preached to milkmaids and discussed points of theology with ploughmen. He invoked in thousands of the yeomanry of England a fervour of spirit almost equal to that which possessed himself. He exhorted the ambassadors of the great powers, then assembled at Nimwegen, to treat of peace,—and warned the citizens of Oldenburgh that the fire which had recently desolated their city was a judgment from heaven against them on account of their iniquities. In the excess of their zeal, delicate women went into the camps of Cromwell, mixed with the rough soldiers, and tried to win them over to the doctrines of peace and goodwill to man. Innocent girls and unworshiped men went forth in conscious and fearless innocence to bear the seeds of truth to every corner of the earth. Hester Biddeford bore her way into the presence of the grand monarch at Versailles, and commanded him in the name of God to sheathe his destroying sword. Others made their way to Jerusalem and to New England,—to Egypt, to China and to Japan. One young woman of dauntless resolution carried the words of peace to the successor of Mohammed in his camp at Adrianople, who received her with the respect due to one professing to come in the name of God. Another took a message to the Supreme Pontiff and his cardinals at Rome. Some were moved to go forth and convert the savages of the west and the negroes of the south; and one party set out in search of

the unknown realms of Prester John. Everywhere these messengers bore the glad tidings they had themselves received; everywhere treating all men as equals and brothers; thee-ing and thou-ing high and low; protesting against all authority not springing from the light in the soul—against all powers, privileges, and immunities founded on carnal history and tradition; and often at the peril of their lives refusing to lift the hat or to bend the knee—except to God.

"The public teaching of a doctrine like this was in itself a revolution. Cromwell clearly understood the nature of the movement; and tolerant as he was of religious sects, he would willingly have put it down. But even his mighty arm was paralyzed. The children of light were also the children of peace. They did what they believed to be right; and if their conduct pleased not the rulers of the earth, they took the consequences to themselves in silence. Sects like the Anabaptists, the Levellers, and the Fifth-Monarchy Men he knew how to cajole or coerce. Their plots and conspiracies he could meet on equal terms: as it suited his purpose, he could buy them with honours or crush them with the sword. But fear and favour were alike lost on the followers of Fox. They would neither obey his laws nor resist his troops. They opposed their silence to his severity. They were readier to endure than he was to inflict; and he foresaw that their patience would tire out persecution."

The *furor biographicus* not only prevents Mr. Dixon from seeing any faults in his hero, but almost blinds him to the faults of his hero's father, the stout but disreputable Admiral. If the reader compare pages 14 and 117 he will notice an amusing contradiction; while recounting the treachery of the Admiral, Mr. Dixon says no term of reprehension is too strong for it; yet when the Admiral is dying Mr. Dixon assures us "he retained his patriotic ardour to the last. He bewailed the corruption of the age, the profligacy in high places, &c.!"

Before closing our notice we must give an extract which would have made Sydney Smith chuckle at the forefathers of his "repudiators":—

"Penn believed that if he were only in America, his presence would reconcile parties now at variance, and put an end to these dangerous complaints and suggestions. But he was too poor to pay for an outfit for his family. Owner of twenty million acres of land, he had no means of raising a few hundred pounds for necessary expenses! The Irish estates had ceased for the moment to yield a shilling of rental; and his unfaithful stewards, the Forde, pretended they could hardly make his English property cover the cost of his simple household. In the depth of his difficulty and distress, a thought occurred to him: he had spent a princely fortune in his colony; the million or so of acres already sold had a small quit-rent reserved,—which, for the ease of the colonists, he had allowed to stand over till good harvests came round, so that for ten years he had not received a single shilling from this quarter. He would now, he thought, apply to these prosperous settlers in the land he had made for them, recently blessed with most abundant seasons, for a loan of ten thousand pounds—a hundred pounds each from a hundred persons. This money would set him right; and the quit-rents and the lands of the colony would be ample security to the lenders. He wrote a manly and touching letter to Robert Turner, in which he opened his heart to his old friend, and made this proposal, pledging himself, in the event of its success, to set sail immediately with a large party of emigrants, who were only waiting for the signal of his departure: if the colonists refused him this kindness, he said, he knew not what he must do, so very low were his affairs reduced. It is an eternal disgrace to the settlers that they evaded and postponed this request—too mean to comply with grace, too cowardly to refuse without shuffling and false pretence. The men to whom he had looked for help—to whom in confidence he had laid bare his private misfortunes—sought in the fact of his distress an opportunity to encroach on his just rights, and gossiped about his fall, to their own shame and the scandal of the country. They said they loved him very much, but they had no mind to lend money."

The style of this Biography is energetic, clear, and rapid; totally deficient in grace and in felicity of expression, and not always irreproachable in its syntax; but on the other hand it is free from affectation and from rhetoric. Commonplaces—such as "the cup of misery was full," and "the entire work will repay perusal"—are too frequent, and certain novelties of expression need revision, such as his calling Locke "the philosopher of sensation"—which is a vulgar error in bad English. But we must not close with an objection: the book is a good book and an amusing book, pleasant to read, and useful to consult.

SPENCER'S SOCIAL STATICS.

Social Statics; or, the Conditions essential to Human Happiness specified, and the first of them developed. By Herbert Spencer. John Chapman.

(Third Notice.)

THE third part of Mr. Spencer's book is perhaps the most interesting and important of the whole—treating as it does of those "burning questions" Political Rights. As previously intimated, we do not always agree in the opinions he sets forth, but we are quite sure that no one will read these sec-

tions without profit, so luminous and suggestive in every page. Space fails us to enter into any discussion, we will therefore confine ourselves to a few extracts.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

"Considering society as a corporate body, we may say that man, when he first enters into it, has the repulsive force in excess, whilst in the cohesive force he is deficient. His passions are strong; his sympathies weak. Those propensities which fitted him for savage life necessarily tend to breed war between himself and his neighbours. His condition has been that of perpetual antagonism; and his antagonistic habits must of course accompany him into the social state. Aggression, dispute, anger, hatred, revenge—these are the several stages of the process by which the members of a primitive community are continually being sundered. Hence the smallness of the first communities. Populations burst as fast as they increase. Races split into tribes; tribes into factions. Only as civilization advances do larger unions become possible. And even these have to pass through some such stage as that of feudalism, with its small chieftainships and right of private war, showing that the tendency to repel is still active.

"Now, in proportion to the repulsive force subsisting between atoms of matter, must be the restraint required to keep them from exploding. And in proportion to the repulsive force subsisting between the units of a society must be the strength of the bonds requisite to prevent that society from flying to pieces. Some powerful concentrative influence there must be to produce even these smallest unions; and this influence must be strong in proportion to the savageness of the people; otherwise the unions cannot be maintained. Such an influence we have in the sentiment of veneration, reverence for power, loyalty, or, as Carlyle terms it—hero-worship. By this feeling it is that society begins to be organized; and where the barbarism is greatest, there is this feeling strongest. Hence the fact that all traditions abound in superhuman beings, in giants and demigods. The mythical accounts of Bacchus and Hercules, of Thor and Odin, and of the various divine and half-divine personages who figure in the early histories of all races, merely prove the intensity of the awe with which superiority was once regarded. In that belief of some of the Polynesian Islanders that only their chiefs have souls, we find a still extant example of the almost incredible influence which this sentiment of reverence has over savage men. Through it only does all authority, whether that of ruler, teacher, or priest, become possible. It was alike the parent of beliefs in the miraculous conception of Genesis Khan, in the prophetic characters of Zoroaster, Confucius, and Mahomet, and in the infallibility of the Pope. Where it no longer deifies power, it associates it with divine attributes. Thus it was death for the Assyrian to enter unbidden into the presence of his monarch. The still stationary Orientals ascribe to their emperors celestial relationships. Schamy, the prophet-chief of the Circassians, is believed to have entire union with the Divine essence. And the Russian soldiers pray for their Czar as 'our God upon earth.' The fealty of vassal to feudal lord—the devotion of Highland Celt to chief—were exhibitions of the same feeling. Loyalty it made the brightest virtue, and treason the blackest crime.

"With the advance of civilization this awe of power diminishes. Instead of looking up to the monarch as a God, it begins to view him as a man reigning by divine authority—as 'the Lord's anointed.' Submission becomes less abject. Subjects no longer prostrate themselves before their rulers, nor do serfs kiss their master's feet. Obedience ceases to be unlimited: men will choose their own faiths. Gradually, as there grow up those sentiments which lead each to maintain his own rights, and sympathetically to respect the rights of others—gradually as each, thus, by the acquirement of self-restraining power, becomes fitted to live in harmony with his fellow—so gradually do men cease to need external restraint, and so gradually does this feeling which makes them submit to that external restraint decrease. The law of adaptation necessitates this. The feeling must lose power just as fast as it ceases to be useful. As the new regulator grows the old one must dwindle. The first amelioration of a pure despotism is a partial supplanting of the one by the other. Mixed constitutions exhibit the two acting conjointly. And whilst the one advances to supremacy, the other sinks into decrepitude; divine right of kings is exploded, and monarchical power becomes but a name.

"Although the adaptation of man to the social state has already made considerable progress—although the need for external restraint is less—and although consequently that reverence for authority which makes restraint possible, has greatly diminished—diminished to such an extent that the holders of power are daily caricatured, and men begin to listen to the National Anthem with their hats on—still the change is far from complete. The attributes of the aboriginal man have not yet died out. We still trench upon each other's claims—still pursue happiness at each other's expense. Our savage selfishness is seen in commerce, in legislation, in social arrangements, in amusements. The shopkeeper imposes on his lady customer; his lady customer beats down the shopkeeper. Classes quarrel about their respective 'interests'; and corruption is defended by those who profit from it. The spirit of caste morally tortures its victims with as much coolness as the Indian tortures his enemy. Gamblers pocket their gains with unconcern; and your share-speculator cares not who loses, so that he gets his premium. No matter what their rank, no matter in what they are engaged—whether in enacting a Corn-law, or in struggling with each other at the doors of a theatre—men show themselves, as yet, little else than barbarians in broadcloth."

Let us notice in passing an admirable refutation of the popular superstition that majorities ought to

be omnipotent (§ 4), uncontrolled by the moral sense; and the irresistible arguments in favour of universal suffrage. He answers the vulgar fear that democracy would give rise to a code of laws favouring poverty at the expense of wealth, and says:—

"Even were there no answer to this, the evidence would still preponderate in favour of popular enfranchisement. For what at the utmost does the argument amount to? Just this:—that the few must continue to trespass against the many, lest the many should trespass against the few. The well fed, the luxuriously housed and clothed, the placemen and pensioners, may perhaps think it better that the masses should suffer for their benefit (as they do) than that they should suffer for the benefit of the masses (as they might). But would a just arbitrator say this? Would he not say, on the contrary, that even if their respective members were blessed with equal advantages, the minority ought to be sacrificed rather than the majority; but that as the most numerous are at the same time the least favoured, their claim becomes still more imperative. Surely, if one of the two parties must submit to injustice, it ought to be the rich hundreds, and not the poor thousands."

"The foregoing objection, however, is not so sound as it looks. It is one thing for a comparatively small class to unite in the pursuit of a common advantage, and it is another thing for a dispersed multitude to do so. Some thousands of individuals having identical interests, moving together in the same circle, brought up with like prejudices, educated in one creed, bound together by family ties, and meeting annually in the same city, may easily enough combine for the attainment of a desired object. But for half a dozen millions of working men, distributed over a vast area, engaged in various occupations, belonging to different religious sects, and divided into two totally distinct bodies, the one imbued with the feelings and theories of town life, the other retaining all those prejudices of the past which yet linger in the country—for these to act with unanimity is scarcely possible. Their mass is too great, too incongruous, too scattered, for effective combination. We have current proof of this. The Chartist agitation shows us men, who, during the last twenty years, have gradually imbibed ideas of political freedom—men who have been irritated by a sense of injustice—men who have been slighted by their fellow-citizens—men who have been suffering daily privations—men, therefore, who have had an accumulated stimulus to unite in obtaining what they feel themselves entitled to, and what they see reason to believe would greatly benefit them. And how have they prospered in the attempt to carry their point? Disputes, divisions, apathy, adverse influences of every kind, have joined to produce repeated failures. Now if, with the aid of that enthusiasm which a righteous cause always inspires, the masses have not attained to that unity of action needful for the accomplishment of their object, much less would they be able successfully to unite were that object a dishonest one."

But a more conclusive answer is delivered by Fact. How comes it that men with the Fact before their eyes will continue to theorize upon what "would be?" America tells them as plainly as possible that democracy really does perpetrate no such injustice as the one they dread, yet they continue to prophesy what "would be" the result if universal suffrage were granted!

Mr. Spencer is a staunch advocate for the Voluntary Principle in Religion and Education; we join issue with him upon the latter ground. The State has no right to enforce doctrines upon me, nor to make me pay for its doctrines; but if the State has any power of coercion at all, if it can make me pay for prisons and policemen as forming portions of its indispensable machinery, it can with equal justice make me pay for that which, by diminishing crime, will diminish the necessities for prisons and policemen. Mr. Spencer asks how can those who argue for the non-interference of the State in matters of Religion, support the interference in matters of Education? We will tell him. Religion as Religion is a matter between God and the individual soul. The State can have nothing to do with it, except when every individual soul agrees with every other individual soul in the principles and formulas of its faith; then indeed the State, as the expression of all the members, may direct Religious Affairs, but not otherwise. Education, however, is a social matter—it is between man and society, and the State is bound to see that its members are fitted for society, are made social.

We touch upon this subject, we cannot here dwell upon it, having, as we said, no space for discussion. Let us rather hear Mr. Spencer on

A STATE CHURCH.

"But there has been gradually dawning upon those who think the conviction that a state church is not so much a religious as a political institution. 'Who does not see,' inquires Locke, speaking of the clergy, 'that these men are more ministers of the government than ministers of the gospel?' Probably in Locke's time there were few who did see this; but there are now many. Nor, indeed, is the fact altogether denied, as you shall hear from some politic supporter of religious establishments during an after-dinner confidence. 'Between ourselves,' will whisper such an one, 'these churches and parsons, and all the rest of it, are not for sensible men, such as you and I; we know better; we can do without

all that; but there must be something of the kind to keep the people in order.' And then he will go on to show what influential restraints religious services are; how they encourage subordination and contentment; and how the power which the clergy obtain over their parishioners strengthens the hands of the civil ruler. That some such view widely prevails may be gathered from the acts and proposals of our statesmen. How otherwise can we understand that avowed willingness in the political leaders of all parties to endow the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland if the religious public of England would let them? Or what but a political motive can that states' lieutenant—the East India Company—have for giving an annual subsidy of 23,000 rupees to the temple of Juggernaut, reimbursing itself by a tax upon the pilgrims? Or why else should the Ceylon Government take upon itself to be curator of Buddha's tooth, and to commission the Buddhist priests?"

"Of the clergy who, on the other hand, commonly advocate a state church as being needful for the upholding of religion, it may be said that by doing this they condemn their own case, pass sentence upon their creed as worthless, and bring themselves in guilty of hypocrisy. What! will they allow this faith, which they value so highly, to die a natural death if they are not paid for propagating it? Must all these people, about whose salvation they profess such anxiety, be left to go to perdition if livings, and canopies, and bishoprics, are abolished? Has that apostolic inspiration, of which they claim to be the inheritors, brought with it so little apostolic zeal that there would be no preaching were it not for parsonages and tithes? Do they who, on ordination, declared themselves 'inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost,' now find that they are inwardly moved only by the think of gold? This would be called slander coming from any but themselves. And then their flocks—what say they of these? Do these care so little for the faith they have been taught, that its maintenance cannot be entrusted to them? After centuries of church culture, has Christianity got so little root in men's hearts that but for government watering-pots it must wither away? Are we to understand that these perpetual prayers and sacraments, these homilies and exhortations, these visitings and Scripture readings, have not even generated as much enthusiasm as can keep itself alive? Have ten thousand sermons a week done so little that the hearers will not contribute a sum sufficient for the sustentation of a ministry? Why, if this be true, what is the system good for? These advocates do but open their briefs, and then straightway argue themselves out of court. They labour to prove either how powerless is the faith they teach, or how miserably they teach it! The sum and substance of their plea for the state propagation of this creed is, that it has failed in animating its ministers with its own spirit of self-sacrifice, and failed to arouse in its devotees a spark of its own generosity!"

The chapter on the Poor Laws should be carefully studied. How true this observation, and how neglected!

CHARITY.

"Charity is in its nature essentially civilizing. The emotion accompanying every generous act adds an atom to the fabric of the ideal man. As no cruel thing can be done without character being thrust a degree back towards barbarism, so no kind thing can be done without character being moved a degree forward towards perfection. Doubly efficacious, therefore, are all assuagings of distress instigated by sympathy; for not only do they remedy the particular evils to be met, but they help to mould humanity into a form by which such evils will one day be precluded."

With this he contrasts the effect of

POOR LAWS.

"Note again how this act of Parliament charity perpetually supercedes men's better sentiments. Here is a respectable citizen with enough and to spare; a man of some feeling; liberal, if there is need; generous even, if his pity is excited. A beggar knocks at his door; or he is accosted in his walk by some way worn tramp. What does he do? Does he listen, investigate, and, if proper, assist? No; he commonly cuts short the tale with—'I have nothing for you, my good man; you must go to your parish.' And then he shuts the door, or walks on, as the case may be, with evident unconcern. Should it strike him the next moment that there was something very wrong in the petitioner's look, this uncomfortable thought is met by the reflection that so long as there is a poor-law he cannot starve, and that it will be time enough to consider his claims when he applies for relief. Thus does the consciousness that there exists a legal provision for the indigent act as an opiate to the yearnings of sympathy. Had there been no ready-made excuse, the behaviour would probably have been different. Commiseration, pleading for at least an enquiry into the case, would most likely have prevailed; and, in place of an application to the board of guardians, ending in a pittance coldly handed across the pay-table to be thanklessly received, might have commenced a relationship good for both parties—a generosity humanizing to the one, and a succour made doubly valuable to the other by a few words of consolation and encouragement, followed, it may be, by a lift into some self-supporting position."

We close our imperfect notices of this profound and suggestive work with a passage from his concluding remarks, a sermon all should lay to heart:—

"The candid reader may now see his way out of the dilemma in which he feels placed, between a conviction, on the one hand, that the perfect law is the only safe guide, and a consciousness, on the other, that the perfect law cannot be fulfilled by imperfect men. Let him but duly realize the fact that opinion is the agency through which character adapts external arrangements to itself—that his opinion rightly forms part of this agency—is a

unit of force, constituting, with other such units, the general power which works out social changes—and he will then perceive that he may properly give full utterance to his innermost conviction; leaving it to produce what effect it may. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles, and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities, and desires, and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of the time. Influences that have acted upon preceding generations; influences that have been brought to bear upon him; the education that disciplined his childhood; together with the circumstances in which he has since lived; have conspired to make him what he is. And the result thus wrought out in him has a purpose. He must remember that whilst he is a child of the past, he is a parent of the future. The moral sentiment developed in him, was intended to be instrumental in producing further progress; and to gag it, or to conceal the thoughts it generates, is to balk creative design. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as an agent through whom nature works; and when nature gives birth in him to a certain belief, she thereby authorizes him to profess and to act out that belief. For—

"——— nature is made better by no mean,
But nature makes that mean: over that art
Which you say adds to nature, is an art
That nature makes."

Not as adventitious, therefore, will the wise man regard the faith that is in him—not as something which may be slighted, and made subordinate to calculations of policy; but as the supreme authority to which all his actions should bend. The highest truth conceivable by him he will fearlessly utter; and will endeavour to get embodied in fact his purest idealisms: knowing that, let what may come of it, he is thus playing his appointed part in the world—knowing that, if he can get done the thing he aims at—well: if not—well also; though not so well."

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

Flowers and their Poetry. By J. Stevenson Bushnan, M.D. W. S. Orr and Co.

An elegant volume of verse, with fanciful borders and binding to suit the drawing-room table. Delta has contributed some nine poems; the rest are by Dr. Stevenson Bushnan, and show "the accomplishment of verse." Since it has lain on our table it has excited considerable admiration; but like most of these "pretty books," it is rather looked at than read.

Life at the Water Cure, or a Month at Malvern. A Diary by R. J. Lane. With the Sequel and the Confessions of a Water Patient. By Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Bart. H. G. Bohn.

A reprint of Mr. Lane's rattling, flippant, yet amusing little work on the Water Cure, with some queer woodcuts, useful as indications, but certainly not ornamental. To it is added Sir E. B. Lytton's very agreeable "Confessions," which originally appeared in the *New Monthly Magazine*. Any person going or contemplating a trip to a water-cure establishment will be glad of this cheap little volume.

Industrial Investment and Emigration; being a Treatise on Benefit Building Societies and on the General Principles of Associations for Land Investment and Colonization, with an Appendix on Compound Interest, Tontines, and Life Insurance. By Arthur Scratchley, M.A. J. W. Parker.

The title of this book is so explanatory as to constitute an exposition of itself. Mr. Scratchley is well known as an able actuary, and in this, which is the second edition of his work on Industrial Investment and Emigration, he has much enlarged the important topics on which it treats. Too large, perhaps, to be called a hand-book, it may yet be held as a manual of reference indispensable to conductors and members of building, emigration, and assurance societies. In the national progress (for national it may be termed) of association, a work of this kind is of the highest utility in which mathematical demonstration, calculation, and practical detail are classified for executive guidance. This is not a volume the value of which can be exemplified by quotation, but this much may be said, that it is a work which all concerned, either as directors or members of such societies as are above named, will find it to their interest to be acquainted with.

Night and Morning. By Sir E. B. Lytton, Bart. In one vol. With a Frontispiece by H. K. Brown. Chapman and Hall.

The Pilgrims of the Rhine. By Sir E. B. Lytton, Bart. In one vol. With a Frontispiece by Birket Foster. Chapman and Hall.

La Bonne Aventure. Par Eugène Sue. 7 tomes III. and IV. W. Jeff.

Dieu Dispose. Par Alexandre Dumas. Tome III. W. Jeff.

Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray; comprising a Political and Humorous History of the latter part of the Reign of George III. By Thos. Wright and B. H. Evans, Esqs. H. G. Bohn.

Thoughts on Electricity, with Notes of Experiments. By Charles Chalmers. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

The Content; a Narrative founded on Fact. By R. McCrindle. Aylott and Jones.

A First German Reading Book, containing Das Thüchlein, or the Dove; a Tale for the Young. By C. H. Schmidt; with an Introductory Grammar, and a Vocabulary containing every word occurring in the Text. By Faick Lebbau. C. H. W.

Sir John Franklin and the Arctic Regions; showing the Progress of British Enterprise for the Discovery of the North-west Passage during the Nineteenth Century; with more detailed notices of the recent Expeditions in Search of the missing Fourth under Captain Sir John Franklin. By F. L. Simmonds. G. Routledge.

Favourite Song Birds. Parts 9, 10, 11, 12. W. S. Orr and Co.

The English Republic. Edited by W. J. Linton. J. Wason.

Half Hours with the Best Authors. Part 13. C. Knight.

Pictorial Half Hours. Part 11. C. Knight.

Knight's Cyclopædia of London. Part 5. C. Knight.

Knight's Excursion Companion. Part 3. C. Knight.

National Edition Knight's Pictorial Shakespeare (King Henry F.) Part 12. C. Knight.

Eliza Cook's Journal.

Portfolio.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, or the Useful encourages itself.—GORTHE.

DE OMNIBUS REBUS.

"Et quibusdam aliis"—"concerning Omnibus affairs, and especially the new ones." Although remaining for so many years unimproved, the Omnibus has of late received no small attention from the ingenious; and the public reaps the benefit. The public, indeed, may thank itself; since the enormous use made of the vehicle is the reason why abundant capital and invention have at length been attracted to this particular kind of employment. Within the last twenty years, by favour of the Omnibus, the whole middle class may be said to have become a riding class, and to keep its carriage; and the artisan class shares the convenience to a large extent.

The improvement—as in the case of cabs—is seen not only in the structure of the vehicle but in the horseflesh: those compact closed-cabs which now court our use at every stand are gradually becoming furnished with small, short-legged, serviceable horses; the "Hansoms" cultivate a taller breed, a sort of horse-dromedary; for bulk, condition, and power, the horse of the Omnibus not unfrequently outrivals his fellow in the private carriage of wealth and rank.

In the structure of the vehicle itself, the most recent improvements seem likely to divide the Omnibus into two kinds, suitable for longer and shorter journeys. In the longer journey, the object is to combine a maximum of capacity for carrying passengers with easy draught and speed. The general enlightenment on sanitary matters, especially the rise in the price of oxygen, makes the outside place more sought than it used to be; but this fact favours a better construction of the carriage. Of the long journey kind, the Richmond Omnibus has become the model. It is short and light in the body, with a box separated from the roof; it carries eleven passengers inside, and eleven outside. The stern part of this carriage sways less from side to side than that of the longer Omnibus when it is urged to a good speed; the whole weight is well brought together; thus the draught for the horses is easy; and the Richmond Omnibuses have become a model of speed and punctuality.

For the shorter journey, the class is more numerous, and the wants are different. Thousands of Omnibuses daily traverse our great thoroughfares, and the number is constantly increasing with the population and topographical extension of the metropolis. When in a good humour, the passenger overflows with gratitude for the modern convenience; but how often is he crossed by the legs and knees that bar his entrance; how often outraged at the squeezing, angered at the window, open or shut, in proportion as he for himself values caloric or oxygen; how often anxious about his purse? The trouble of getting to the roof, or down, among the crowded carriages of the streets, makes numbers, against their taste, disuse the outside seats. Ease of access, and a segregation from the excessively promiscuous company of a short-journey Omnibus, are the grand desiderata. These are supplied by the newest form, Franklinski's patent. The body of the carriage consists of so many separate coupés, each for one passenger, facing towards the side, but slightly inclining forwards—just the comfortable angle for looking out. You can communicate with your next neighbour; you can shut him off. On the roof is a series of chairs, facing forwards. Along each side, near the ground, runs a gallery, by which the passenger walks to his place. The mode in which all this is packed together is very ingenious; but the important facts for the passenger are, the perfect ease of access to coupé or roof; the perfect independence. This form, we take it, must be the model for the short-journey Omnibus.

The Arts.

MASANIELLO.

(At both Houses.)

Mes Pantalons might be the title of an introductory article were it proper to mention "unmentionables"; but the fact is, "thereby hangs a tale." You know the rigorous strictness of the Opera with respect to dress: very proper strictness, since it keeps the Opera

from becoming a bear-garden; and, if men are permitted to enter in splashed boots and plaid trousers, women will cease to care for their toilets—and then what will the Opera be with the fair attractions huddled up in old shawls and discrepant bonnets! So that plaid trousers, you see, are obviously impossible. I insist upon the plaid, because there is a story now amusing the clubs about the son of a late statesman (himself a legislator) who, on being refused admittance in tartan unwhisperables, began to storm and ask them if they knew who he was—flinging his big name at them as Polyphemus flung rocks at ribald peasants who got in his way. The doorkeepers were respectful—but not crushed. Their orders were to admit no one except in evening dress. They stood to their watchword. The Legislator in question having very little temper—(which may account for his losing it so easily)—threatened that he would "ruin the theatre," and stalked away, red and defeated.

Now, contrast the son of *** with Vivian—the Legislator of England with the Legislator of Parnassus! I went on Tuesday to Covent Garden in pantaloons that were not black, but of a very dark iron-grey, which I fondly hoped might pass for black, or at any rate be winked at by the official eye—especially when worn by Vivian! Error! They were stopped at once; blandly, yet irresistibly, the check-taker enforced his orders; not a pleasant office as he soothingly remarked, but one he was there to fill. Did I storm? Did I stagger his fluctuating soul by the announcement of my august individuality? No: I tried to persuade him that my unutterables were of a most unobtrusive colour, that none but the most curious eye could detect their impurity, and that no one would be curious enough to look at my legs. (The dog gave me a roguish look at this—as much as to say: The idea of such symmetry escaping general attention!)—all in vain; he was as unsusceptible to argument as to bullying.

I mention this as a warning. You will say I was a noodle to attempt an entrance except in full dress. I perfectly agree with you; but my warning is none the less opportune to all who may be disposed to run the risk. I did, under the delusion that "it doesn't signify to a shade." It does signify. Black is the colour; don't coquette with darkness; rely solely on blackness; because it is probable you will not have the resource I had, which was to hunt up the most obliging of Secretaries, to whom I related my distress, and who relieved me from it by giving me an amphitheatre stall. I couldn't see the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal so well it is true, but I heard the music even better than in the pit.

The opera was *Masaniello* for the rentrée of Tamberlik, and the first appearance of Formes in Pietro. The sprightly and effective overture, with its picturesque colouring, its movement, and its piquant instrumentation, was executed in marvellous style, and drew down immense applause and an encore. I never heard it played better—such precision, such light and shade, such "crispness" and such powerful crescendos! Madame Castellan made her rentrée as Elvira. She is a pretty woman and an accomplished singer, but I cannot like her. There is something so insipid and characterless in all she does that I gain little pleasure from her mere vocalization. Whatever be the phrase she has to sing she twists her little head on one side, and smiles the same smile, leaving us to interpret whatever we please: "You pays your money, and you takes your choice."

If Castellan did not transport me as Elvira I leave you to judge what I thought of Luigi Mei as Alfonso!

But Tamberlik—the glorious Tamberlik! it was worth going a journey to hear him in the grand duet with Pietro, "Aux Armes!" his thrilling voice climbing altitudes with the rushing brilliancy of a rocket darting up into the night, and this too with a resonance of sound and intensity of expression that made me bound up from my seat! I speak literally—I was positively lifted from my chair by the sudden spasm of delight. When a singer can produce an effect like that upon you, it is idle for people to abate his merit by reference to certain faults which he has. I don't like the constant tremulousness of his voice; it is a defect in him as in Rubini; but what singers they are in spite of their defects! Tamberlik is not perfection—he is not equal to Mario—but, all deductions made, he is the second tenor in Europe, and one who really does transport his audience. How many years would Castellan need to throw her head on one side and warble well-executed singing lessons before she could produce one such thrill as Tamberlik produces whenever he has an intense passage to deliver!

Besides the duet with Pietro let me notice his exquisite cantabile in the "Sommell," where he calls down sleep to soothe his sister—there was a breathing tenderness and delicacy in its expression which came out in striking contrast to the spirited splendour of the appeal to arms, and to the madness in the fifth act. Apropos to this fifth act, it is not the taking C sharp from the chest which is the glory of Tamberlik, but the way in which he takes it, the note itself that is delivered!

Formes gave a sombre and energetic character to Pietro, which, although somewhat overdone, was effective and intelligent; but his singing has one defect I cannot tolerate—the tendency to bellow.

His noble voice sounded well in many passages; but in the duet with Tamberlik the coarseness and a certain jerking vehemence of delivery were a set off against his energy and weight. Had Formes been educated in Italy what a splendid artist we might have known!

The opera is mounted with the profusion and artistic skill of previous seasons. The chorus is in admirable order, and sang the prayer in the third act to perfection. Altogether it was a delightful evening. I was hot and headachy; but to hear Tamberlik a headache is an insignificant price.

On Thursday Her Majesty's Theatre brought out its *Masaniello*, with three débutants and Massol. Speculation was rife as to the result of this rivalry with Covent Garden in a field where such laurels had been won; and curiosity to hear the new singers gave its zest to the early part of the performance. The overture, so matchlessly executed at Covent Garden, did not sugar well: it was coarsely played, and by no means deserved its encore; the finale was a chaos of sound, the very storm and fury of brass. The curtain rose, and Signor Scotti made his bow as Alfonso. This was novelty No. 1. His first air showed, what the rest of his singing confirmed, that he only needs three qualities (sometimes considered necessary) to become an accomplished singer—correct intonation, expressive style, and a good voice. Bating these . . . !

Novelty No. 2 was Signora Monti, who played Fenella, and made a deep impression by her pantomime. Her face is plain but expressive; her gestures more representative than graceful; her acting of the highest tragic order. The sway and swell of contending emotions depicted in the hurrying agitation of her features, and significant naturalness of her gestures in the fourth act, where Elvira and Alfonso supplicate her forgiveness and protection, showed me that an Artist stood upon the stage. I have rarely seen acting of late that could be compared with it. Passionate, pathetic, natural—she was equal to the highest demands of the character, and materially aided the effect of the piece.

Novelty No. 3 was Signor Pardini, who played Masaniello. His appearance is prepossessing, and the *Barcarole* at once established his success: there was a dash about it which, aided by a sweet, yet powerful voice, told the audience they might expect something. Still finer was he in the grand duet with Massol—rapturously encored. Indeed this second act was a triumph for him, but he fell off afterwards so decidedly that I left the house without making up my mind to his claims. This much, however, is certain: he has a young, fresh, sympathetic voice of power and sweetness, delivered almost wholly from the chest, as is the practice with Young Italy, but I fear that he has the failing of Young Italy, viz., of relying upon the effects he can produce by certain notes, and neglecting general phrasing. He was hoarse, however, after the second act, so that I will not pronounce judgment until I have heard him under more favourable circumstances. His acting was spirited, and on the whole I have little doubt that he will turn out the tenor of her Majesty's.

Comparing the general effect of *Masaniello* at the two houses, I should say that as respects orchestra, chorus, and grouping, Covent Garden has the advantage—in Ballet her Majesty's recovers somewhat of the balance. Fiorentini is many degrees beyond Castellan; Massol on the whole I prefer to Formes (in Pietro); Scotti will drive in a curriole with Luigi Mei; Monti must not be degraded to a comparison with Miss Ballin—so that up to this point the balance has fallen to her Majesty's—but Tamberlik kicks the beam! Yes, the orchestra and Tamberlik are two unapproachable items in the account!

I should add that the Opera is lavishly mounted, and was enthusiastically received—encores being rather too frequent.

VIVIAN.

LA SONNAMBULA.

Amina is another character peculiarly suited to Mademoiselle Caroline Duprez, and her performance of it on Tuesday night was a most decided and unequivocal success. Her acting was unaffected, quiet, and intelligent, displaying at times considerable dramatic force, particularly in the last scene of the second act, where she is repulsed by her lover. Her Amina is to be relished for its freshness, for the total absence of conventionalities. From the "Come me sereno" to the "Ah non giunge," she attempted nothing which was not delivered with exquisite delicacy. One of the secrets of her success is in not attempting too much, either in the character she impersonates or in her ornamental passages of vocalization. By a most enthusiastic audience she was called before the curtain four times during the opera, after the first act, twice after the second, and, having appeared after the third, the encore was so hearty and energetic that the curtain rose again for the repetition of the brilliant "Ah non giunge." To the trifling part of Lisa, Mademoiselle Feller gave an importance that shows her capable of far more than she has yet done. Calzolari, as Elvino, appeared to greater advantage than we have yet seen him; and Signor Coletti, as Count Rodolpho, met with an enthusiastic reception on his rentrée.

European Democracy.

This page is accorded to an authentic Exposition of the Opinions and Acts of the Democracy of Europe: as such we do not impose any restraint on the utterance of opinion, and, therefore, limit our own responsibility to the authenticity of the statement.

GENERAL BEM.

The late Hero of the War of Independence in Hungary, 1848 and 1849.

Joseph Bem was born in 1795 in Tarnow, a small town in Galicia. His father was a barrister of some eminence, and a landed proprietor in the palatinate of Cracow. His son, the subject of this sketch, entered the Jagellonian University of Cracow, to study the law; but when in 1809 the Polish army, after having defeated the Austrians (who invaded the grand duchy of Warsaw), made its triumphant entry into Cracow, Bem was so overpowered by a patriotic enthusiasm that he abandoned the study of the law and, with the consent of his father, became a pupil of the school of Artillery and Military Engineering in Warsaw, organized by General Pelletier, a Frenchman, who was then commander-in-chief of the Polish artillery and engineers. Bem, after two years' study, passed a most successful examination, and was promoted to the rank of a second-class lieutenant, and as such entered a battery of horse artillery. At the opening of the French campaign, of 1812, against Russia, Bem's battery was attached, first to the corps of Marshal Davoust, then to that of MacDonald. When the debris of the French army retreated and crossed the Niemen, and Rapp shut himself up in the fortress of Danzig, Bem, whose battery belonged to the besieged garrison of that fortress, so greatly distinguished himself that he was raised to the rank of first-class lieutenant, and decorated with the cross of the legion of honour.

In the year 1815, when a portion of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was patched up by the Congress of Vienna as a kingdom of Poland, and the Grand Duke Constantine reorganized the Polish army, of which the remnants of the army of the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw—amounting to about 8000 men, formed the basis—Bem was reappointed lieutenant in a newly-organized battery of horse artillery.

The tyrannical system of the grand-duke was such that a considerable number of the most distinguished Polish officers manifested their discontent in various ways; Bem, of course, was amongst the number; and was, consequently, put on the inactive list. However, owing to the exertions of General Bontemps, a favourite of the grand-duke, he was, in 1819, reinstated and appointed professor of artillery in the so-called school of artillery for non-commissioned officers during the winter months, established at Warsaw, on the plan and under the auspices of Bontemps. About this time Bem was promoted to the rank of captain of the second class, and published a pamphlet on the manufacturing of Congreve rockets, introduced into the Polish army by General Bontemps. He discharged his duties as professor with the greatest talent and ability; and in 1821 was even promoted to the rank of captain of the first class; but his unflinching patriotism drew upon him first the suspicion, then the inexorable hatred of the grand-duke, who incessantly persecuted him; so that, from 1821 to 1826, he was three times tried by court martial, or rather by the grand-duke himself; for the decrees were always prospectively dictated by him, and woe to the judges who should venture to deviate from them! He was, consequently, twice imprisoned for various terms, and lastly sent to a small town, where he was placed under the surveillance of the police, and strictly prohibited from absconding himself. In 1826, he gave in his resignation in order, at last, to be rid of his constrained position, and repaired to Lemberg, in Galicia, where he devoted his time to literary pursuits, and composed a work on mechanics.

The Polish revolution of 1830 roused Bem from his studies to the battle-field. He hastened back to enter the ranks of the national army, where he was entrusted with the command of the fourth battery of horse-artillery, composed of twelve pieces of ordnance, and promoted to the rank of major. At the battle of Iganie (April 8, 1831) Bem showed what a single battery against several others is capable of doing, when well commanded. For the service he rendered in this battle he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and decorated with the golden cross of Poland, whose motto was "Virtuti militari." At the battle of Ostrolenka (May 26, 1831) he actually charged the Russian troops with his artillery, and by desperate volleys of grape-shot stopped the progress of the enemy's storming columns, thus saving the main army from certain destruction and enabling it to accomplish an orderly retreat. He was now raised to the rank of colonel, decorated with a higher class of the Polish cross, and invested with the command of the whole artillery. Soon after he was promoted to the rank of major-general. When Warsaw was besieged by the Muscovite army, Bem suggested in a council of war a nocturnal attack upon the whole line of the besiegers; but his bold suggestion, being unsupported by the majority, was not carried out. When, after two days' storming (September 6 and 7, 1831), the metropolis capitulated and the Polish army crossed the Vistula, concentrating itself in the suburbs of Praga, Bem made another salutary suggestion, viz., to destroy the bridge over the Vistula, and to rejoin the 22,000 men of choice troops, commanded by the traitor Ramorino, but that also fell to the ground. The 22,000 men were thus lost, and with them the cause also. The army now effected its retreat northwards, *vis à vis* Modlin and Plock, and on the 5th of October, 1831, entered the Prussian territory near Brodnica. Bem was with the army, and during his stay in Prussia made the greatest efforts to obtain from the Prussian Government permission for all the private soldiers to proceed to France,

but without success; for the Government was determined to deliver them to the Muscovites; and in this resolution it went so far as to compel the poor fellows by force of arms to reënter the Polish territory, and thus to fall into the insatiable maw of Nicholas. Bem now proceeded to France as an exile. His main effort was to form there a Polish legion, but being unsuccessful in his negotiations with Louis Philippe's Government, he endeavoured to encourage his exiled countrymen to enter the foreign legion in Algeria, and afterwards in a Portuguese one, which he contemplated to organize; but, a few individuals excepted, all his fellow-exiles not only refused to comply with his wishes (for they had then the greatest repugnance to enter a foreign service), but were so incensed against Bem, that one of them (in Bourges) actually fired at him, firmly believing that in so doing he was rendering a great service to his fatherland by ridding it of a man whom he and many others considered to be the instrument for dispersing the exiles, or exposing them to be killed in unjust wars. But, according to the confessions Bem afterwards made to some few of his intimate friends, his object was to have a certain number of his countrymen under arms, in order to arrange an armed expedition to Poland, and to raise the whole nation against its foreign oppressors. Whoever knew Bem's ardent love for his country, cannot but believe that he was sincere.

He now remained quiet in France, but not inactive. He published an historical and statistical work on the Polish provinces, under the title of *La Pologne dans ses Antiquités Limites*, &c. 1836, Paris. He likewise published two pamphlets, containing his views on a future insurrection in Poland. After considerable opposition, he succeeded in introducing into the public institutions of Paris a system of mnemonics, invented by Mr. Jaswinski, one of his old comrades. He came over to England twice to endeavour to introduce the system here, but was not successful.

When quite a young man, he had a quarrel with a Polish captain of the corps of Veterans, the consequence of which was a duel. His adversary had the first shot, and Bem, being hit in his right thigh, fell to the ground; whereupon the captain was about leaving the spot, when Bem cried out: "Stop, it is my turn now!" and, supported by his second, he aimed at his adversary, and sent a bullet through his heart. In spite of the bullet remaining embedded in his thigh for a period of thirty-one years, in spite of the most excruciating suffering, especially upon every change of the weather, he never, as we have already shown, relinquished his active pursuits. However, when his sufferings became insupportable, he submitted to an operation performed by the celebrated Dupuytren, of Paris, which was unsuccessful. Upon his second visit to England, at the beginning of 1847, he obtained admission to the hospital of University College, and there underwent an operation under the skilful hand of the late Mr. Liston. The operation was performed under the influence of ether, but Bem unhappily became conscious at the very moment of the greatest pain, viz., when the bullet was being extracted, together with a scooped out piece of bone in which it was embedded. Exfoliation taking place some time after Bem had left the above hospital, he was obliged to return.

At the beginning of 1848, Bem published *A Letter from a Pole to the Statesmen of Great Britain, on the present Commercial and Financial Crisis*; in which he laid bare the injury inflicted by Russia upon British commerce, pointed out both the opening for our trade which an independent Poland would afford, and the immense stores of grain now rotting in the granaries of Poland, which would secure us against any future fear of famine.

The French revolution of February, 1848, recalled Bem to an active life. He first hastened from London to Paris, and from thence (after a stay of two months, where he vainly endeavoured to obtain some help) to his native country Galicia; but when there, perceiving that the Austrian Government only awaited a favourable opportunity again to crush the new-born liberty, he repaired to Vienna, there to worm out the real intention of that Government. When he found that that metropolis was preparing for a second outbreak, he accepted the command of the national guard, which they offered him. We know the result.

Discretion does not allow us to name the noble minded person to whose skilful exertions Bem was indebted for his almost miraculous escape from certain death.

From Vienna he proceeded to Presburg, in Hungary, where, having offered his services, he was invested with the command of the army destined to reconquer Transylvania. The extraordinary heroism and military skill Bem evinced during the war carried on in that country, which he entirely reconquered, has been ably related by eye witnesses, and especially by General John Cretz, who fought under him, in his work entitled, *Bem's Feldzug in Siebenbürgen in den Jahren 1848 und 1849* (Bem's Campaign in Transylvania, during the years 1848 and 1849), reviewed by the *British Quarterly Review* of February 1, 1851; we must, therefore, owing to our limited space, refer our readers to that work or its review. But we cannot abstain from giving a fact, which is not mentioned in the above-quoted work, and which shows that the policy Bem pursued in Transylvania was as sagacious as his tactics and strategy were perfect, and for which he obtained the promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general, and the Hungarian national decoration. The fact to which we allude is, that when Bem found that the two inimical races in Transylvania, viz., the Saxons and Wallachs, were all armed by the Austrians to keep the unarmed Magyar inhabitants in check, thus disabling them from taking an active part in the struggle, he announced that he would pay for every gun with its bayonet delivered to him twenty-five swanzigers (£1), and thus allured, the Wallachs surrendered their arms to him one by one, and when no more remained in their hands, they set about disarming the Saxons in

order to get more money; so that he not only disarmed the antagonistic portion of the population, but was also enabled to arm his own troops, and even to send a large quantity to Szegedin.

After the melancholy issue of the Hungarian struggle, owing to the armed intervention of Russia and the treachery of Georgey, Bem with Kossuth and other Hungarian and Polish patriots took refuge in the Turkish territory. Once there, he soon acquired the conviction that Turkey would be compelled, sooner or later, to take up arms against the unrelentingly invading and encroaching power of Russia, and thought that in such a case he again could render an efficient service to his fatherland; he therefore not only entered the Ottoman service as a pasha, but did not even hesitate to embrace Mahomedanism, thinking by so doing to win the confidence of the Porte, and thus be enabled better to serve his native country.

In his new position Bem assumed the name of *Mourad Pasha*, and eventually resided in Aleppo. The night of the 23rd of November, 1850, he was suddenly seized with *Febris perniciosabilis* (pernicious fever), which never left him, ultimately proving fatal. He died on the 10th of December last, at half-past two o'clock in the morning, and was buried on the very same day at noon.—*Sic transit gloria mundi!*

We will conclude this narrative by giving an extract from a letter addressed to General Wysocki, written by Bem's aide-de-camp, Tabaczynski, dated from Aleppo, ten days after the general's decease, viz., the 20th of December, 1850. It gives some details about his last moments, which faithfully portray his love of country and his wish to render justice to those whom he had in life mistaken. The extract runs thus:—

"After you left Shumla for Kutayah, and when Zarzycki was dismissed, I was attached to General Bem's staff, together with Major Fiola of the 9th battalion, whom I already found with the general. Some days afterwards we likewise left Shumla, and arrived at last in Aleppo. Once here we all three formed, as it were, but one family; we frequently conversed about the Hungarian war, the surrender of arms by Georgey, the infamous execution of several generals by Austria, about those still alive, and those who are captives in Kutayah, and personally about yourself (Major Fiola knows you well, having been in your brigade). General Bem became gradually convinced that the misunderstandings which had arisen between him and you originated with unprincipled individuals, intriguers, and flatterers, for, in his last moments, when he felt himself fast sinking, he grasped my hand, and thus addressed me: 'Dear Tabaczynski, you weep! I thank you for your devotedness and care about me; Poland! Poland! I shall no more contribute to save her! After a short pause he added, 'Write to General Wysocki in my name, that all misunderstanding between us is at an end, that I repent him, and that I begueth to him the sacred duty never to cease to act, as he always has done, for the salvation of Poland—for the hour of her salvation will yet strike.'"

Progress of the People.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHARTIST CONVENTION.

The following is the list of the places represented in this Convention, with the names of the delegates:

Greenwich and Kent, G. W. M. Reynolds; North Lancashire, John Gray; Portsmouth and Edinburgh, Thornton Hunt; Westminster and Marylebone, A. Hunniball; Lambeth and Southwark, George Shill; Tower Hamlets, John Shaw; City and Finsbury, James Finlen; Bradford district, A. Robinson; Exeter and Tiverton, T. M. Wheeler; Manchester, F. O'Connor, and G. J. Mantle; Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, G. J. Harney; Bristol, Thomas Savage; Halifax district, Ernest Jones; Paisley district, A. Duncan; Nottinghamshire, W. Felkin; Staffordshire Potteries, James Capewell; Sheffield and Rotherham, J. J. Bezer; Cheshire, W. Benfold; Coventry and Birmingham, A. Yates; Northampton, John Barker; Leicester, George Wray; South Shields, &c., D. W. Ruffy; Edinburgh, Walter Pringle; Huddersfield district, T. Hirst; Dundee, James Graham; Derby district, John Moss; Newcastle-upon Tyne, James Watson; Dudley district, D. Thompson; Glasgow district, Daniel Paul.

We resume the statement of the propositions which have been affirmed by this Delegation, meeting at the Parthenon Rooms, St. Martin's-lane. The concluding document adopted by this body—the Plan of Organization—we shall give next week. The following statement commences at Section III., Education, the preambulatory paragraph of which we gave in our last report.

III.—EDUCATION.

As every man has a right to the means of physical life, so he has to the means of mental activity. It is as unjust to withhold aliment from the mind, as it is to deny food to the body. Education should, therefore, be national, universal, gratuitous, and, to a certain extent, compulsory.

It is, therefore, recommended—

1. That schools, colleges, and universities, supported by the state, should be gratuitously open to every citizen, and that it be compulsory with all parents to have their children educated in the common branches of learning.

2. Education in its higher branches to be equally gratuitous, but optional.

3. Industrial schools to be established, in which the young may be taught the various trades and professions, thus gradually superseding the system of apprenticeship.

IV.—LABOUR LAW.

Labour is the creator of a nation's wealth—as such, the most important element of its prosperity. Not-

withstanding this, the relation of master and man has been repugnant to the well-being of society; the creator has hitherto been the servant of the creature; labour has been the slave of capital, and groaned under a system of wages-slavery, contrary to every principle of freedom.

To elevate labour from its present depressed condition, the following measures are proposed, with a view to the more rapid abrogation of wages-slavery, and the development of the coöperative principle.

1. All coöperative associations for industrial purposes to have a right to registration and enrolment without payment of fees, and to have an unrestricted number of affiliated branches.

2. The law of partnership to be so altered as to remove existing difficulties in the way of association.

3. The coöperative principle is essential for the well being of the people; the centralization of wealth ought to be counteracted by a distributive tendency; its accumulation in the hands of isolated clubs is an evil second only to that of its monopoly by individuals; therefore, all future coöperative attempts should, until the complete readjustment of the labour question, be modelled on a national basis, and connected in a national union, of which the different trades and societies should be localities or branches; and the profits, beyond a certain amount, of each local society, should be paid into a general fund for the purpose of forming additional associations of working men, and thus accelerating the development of associated and independent labour.

4. A credit-fund to be opened by the state, for the purpose of advancing money, on certain conditions, to bodies of working-men desirous of associating together for industrial purposes.

V.—POOR LAW.

As it is the duty of every man to work, so every man has the right to the means of work; and those unable to work, through infirmity or age, have a right to support at the hands of the state.

Therefore—

1. All able-bodied persons, who cannot support themselves, to be supplied with remunerative work; and, where possible, to be located on the land.

2. Where the state cannot find work for the unemployed, it is bound to support them until labour is provided.

3. The unemployed to be supported by the state, not by the parish—and the cost to be defrayed out of the national revenue.

4. The aged and infirm to be supported in their own homes, in the houses of their relatives, or in special buildings, erected by Government, at the option of the recipient.

VI.—TAXATION.

Taxation on industry represses the production of wealth—on luxuries, encourages governments in fostering excess—on necessary commodities, acts injuriously on the people's health and comfort.

All taxation ought, therefore, to be levied on land and accumulated property.

VII.—THE NATIONAL DEBT.

This debt, having been contracted by a class government for class purposes, cannot be considered as legally contracted by the people.

It is, moreover, absurd that future generations should be mortgaged to eternity for the follies or misfortunes of their ancestors, and the debt be thus repaid several times over.

The national debt ought, therefore, to be liquidated by the money now annually paid as interest being forthwith applied as repayment of the capital, until such repayment is completed.

VIII.—CURRENCY.

The Convention considers that a change in our currency laws is absolutely necessary to the welfare of the producers of this country, and recommends that the Executive, by addresses and tracts, direct the attention of the country to this subject.

IX.—THE ARMY.

Standing armies are contrary to the principles of Democracy, and dangerous to the liberties of the people. At the same time the Convention acknowledges the expediency of a standing force being maintained, until suitable changes in our colonies and at home shall have rendered its continuance no longer requisite.

Until such change the following enactments are necessary for the comfort of the soldier and the safety of the citizen:—

1. No enlistment to be binding, unless renewed before a magistrate by the party enlisting after the expiration of a period of one week.

2. The soldier to have a right to a free discharge at the end of four years.

3. The isolation of troops in barracks estranges them from the citizen, renders them unfit for the duties of domestic life, demoralizes them, and is unnecessary for discipline, as proved by such discipline not being impaired when troops are quartered on the inhabitants, which is frequently the case, both in peace and war.

4. Troops, quartered on the inhabitants, to be paid for as lodgers, and none be compelled to receive them.

5. Promotion to take place from the ranks, by

military gradation, and none to be promoted before, at least, one year's service in the ranks.

6. Promotion by purchase to be abolished.

7. The use of the lash to be abolished.

8. Courts-martial to consist, in all cases, of officers and privates in like proportion.

X.—THE NAVY.

To be regulated by analogous laws.

XI.—THE MILITIA.

As it is the right of every individual to bear arms, so it is his duty to know how to use them; as every citizen ought to receive a benefit at the hands of the state, so he ought to be prepared to defend it; and, as liberty is not safe where an unarmed and undisciplined people stand in presence of an armed and disciplined caste, it is, therefore, requisite, that every male of sound mind and body over fifteen years of age should be afforded the opportunity of military training.

XII.—THE PRESS.

That absolute freedom of thought and expression being one of the primary and most sacred of the rights of man, all restrictions—fiscal or otherwise—on printing and publishing are unjust and iniquitous, this Convention, therefore, declares its decided hostility to the infamous taxes on knowledge, and recommends the total abolition of

The duty on Paper;

The duty on Advertisements;

The Penny Stamp Tax on Newspapers;

And the Import duty on Foreign Books and Publications.

Addresses, each embodying one of the above reforms, to be circulated, together with an exposition of the Charter, and its necessity for enabling such reform to be obtained.

The Convention is further of opinion that the best way to enlist sympathy with the Chartist movement is to show its bearings on the grievance of every suffering class, that those classes may be taught to see in Chartism the leverage of their hopes; that the best way to impress and weaken class government is to show those who yet support it that the Chartists would do them more good than that class-government can or will afford; and to pour one continuous stream of agitation on class-government from every portion of the toiling community; to attack every one of its monopolies; to assail every one of its strongholds, and to break them down in detail.

The Convention is also of opinion that a political change is inefficacious, unless accompanied by a social change; that a Chartist movement, unless accompanied with social knowledge, would result in utter failure; that we ought to enlist, not merely the politician, but the man of business; that we cannot claim or receive the support of the labourer, mechanic, farmer, or trader, unless we show them that we are practical reformers; that power would be safely vested in Chartist hands; that we know their grievances, and how to redress them; that the Charter would confer on them a positive, immediate, and permanent benefit, and at once increase alike their comforts and resources.

The Chartist body should, therefore, stand forward as the protector of the oppressed—each suffering class should see in it the redresser of its several wrongs—it ought to be the connecting link, that draws together, on one common ground, the now isolated bodies of the working classes,—and self-interest being the tie best able to bind them to each other.

It is, therefore, time that the self-interest of every one of the oppressed classes be appealed to. Each one of these classes demands a measure of social reform proportioned to its wants; though various, these requirements are not conflicting—one right can never contradict another—truth can never antagonize with truth.

To stand forth as the UNITER of all these isolated, but in fact homogeneous interests, to weld the millions into one compact mass—to evoke the dormant mind of the country, and thus to launch the gathered power in the right direction, is the duty and endeavour of this Delegation of the people.

The Convention, deeply impressed with this truth, while keeping Chartism distinct as an organized political body, not joining any other section, nor mixing it with any other organization, recommends that public attention be directed to the following principles; that the subjoined remedial measures be submitted to the classes severally interested; that their support of Chartist organization be solicited on the ground of these reforms, and that these be made the subject of continuous and universal agitation!

LETTERS TO CHARTISTS.

VIII. THE CONVENTION—ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS EXISTING PARTIES.

Chartists neither want panegyric nor criticism. Of panegyric they have had more than enough. Criticism they are apt to mistake for censure, and are, therefore, irritated where it was intended only that they should be informed. That, however, which may serve them, and which, perhaps, they will bear,

is a plain and impartial estimate of their new position. Men who undertake to recast a movement and recreate a political party ought to see thoroughly where they are: in no other way can they calculate the powers opposed to them, and proportion their energies to their task.

The Executive is certainly a new political composition. The last election included some new names; but the local Chartist sections have suffered no infusions. Diminished, dismembered, and prostrate, the localities may be described as the sediments of antagonism, or the crude remains of Chartism. Shattered in personal conflicts, the sections have been broken up. Partisans of Hobson, admirers of Hill, disciples of Mr. O'Brien, friends of Mr. Harney and Ernest Jones, anxious allottees and enthusiastic "old guards," have been mutually repelled by each other, and those who remain are the survivors of the crash of factions—the party of all the admirations and all the prejudices. These, it was easy to see at the opening, were the coteries represented in the Convention. Gifted with restlessness, which would amount to activity if directed by a calculable purpose, the germs of Chartism have preserved signs of life while other bodies have accepted stagnation. Beyond the Chartist manifestation, so far as the working classes are concerned, all is political death. The Chartists are the Zoophytes of industrial politics—the link between inertia and vitality. Organization commences with them. It may be owing to their misery, it may be owing to their penetration; but their being the sole disturbing force is not to be disputed, and the Convention of such men was a curious and interesting spectacle to contemplate.

They presented themselves to found a new era in Chartism, and, notwithstanding some grave drawbacks, they must be considered as having accomplished their task in a manner full of promise.

Yet, perhaps, in that respect in which the public have most right to calculate that progress would be made by the present Convention, a rather limited account has to be rendered. The programme which it accepted was conceived in the opening passages in the spirit of old Chartism, which remembers nothing but its quondam hatreds, and clings in new times to its ancient exclusiveness. Democracy (notwithstanding that it plumes itself contrariwise) has a strong vein of the Bourbon spirit in it, which, in ten years of vicissitude and self-extinction, has forgotten nothing and learned nothing, in some leading directions.

Those who read the report of the proceedings of the Convention published last week will have noticed this clause, in which we italicise some disastrous words:—

"That, since by each and all of the franchise measures now before the people (excepting that embodied in the Charter), the middle-class would gain far more votes than the working classes would obtain, which would place the latter in a more powerless position than at present. The Charter must be agitated for in its entirety—that the omission of any one of its points would impair the utility of the remainder, and that, therefore, popular support must be withheld from all franchise measures falling short of its provisions."

With three exceptions the delegates agreed to this declaration. All others made drear protest against the middle classes. Mr. Holyoake endeavoured to recal the assembly to a sense of what was due to the public and to themselves. He urged that it was possible but improbable that the middle class would, by "existing franchise measures," obtain "more votes than the working classes." But in no sense was it true that the people would thereby be more "powerless." The more they included within the pale of the franchise the more difficult it would be to keep others out. It had been urged that we should not help the middle class to win their franchise. Why? In what way was a man criminal because he happened to be richer than he (Mr. Holyoake)? The middle-class man had as much right to his vote as the working-class man had to his, and he (Mr. Holyoake) would help (in any way he was able) the middle-class man to get his vote because he had a right to it—whether he could thus win his own vote or not. Mr. Bezer had said that if £1 had to be divided between two of them, was he to consent for his opponent to get his 10s. and he not his? No, he said, we will have both our 10s. together, or his opponent should not have his. On the contrary, he (Mr. Holyoake) would in such a case help another, an opponent, to get his 10s.; although he might not help him (Mr. Holyoake) in return; although he might even use it to prevent him (Mr. Holyoake) from winning his own share. It was right to do what was right to another, regardless of any return, grateful or ungrateful, which might be made. With the talk about conciliating the middle classes he did not sympathize. The middle classes did not want conciliating. Let the working classes behave justly to themselves and conciliation would come of itself. They had only to do as others ought to do to them: it was no less a rule of sound policy than of good feeling. If the working class would not help anybody else they justified everybody else in refusing to help them; but he who would help another established a claim to help in return. The regul-

sive policy set up a barrier against the help of others; it even made enemies, or, at least, increased indifference. The other policy made no enemies, and if it made no friends, it had the merit of deserving them. What was the value of their constant watchword Fraternity, if they bound themselves by the cold and narrow maxim of not helping any who did not see what they saw, or go as far as they went? The working classes, with all their crudeness and impatience, had always been credited with having a generous side in their nature, and was the Convention in its first act going to declare that this was an illusion? The politicians without, who observed that movement or calculated its force, knew of what men the body was composed; and they could calculate to a few months how many years those would be in learning wisdom by experience who could not learn it by precept; and it was clearly seen that there was little hope of progress within the body. They must die out (urged Mr. Holyoake) unless they admitted new blood into the localities. To do this, they must have a fraternal side deeply and broadly marked; but to pass their present resolution would be a fetter upon all who were generous within their ranks, and prevent the adhesions of any who were without. It involved the unstatesmanlike alternative of prostration or rebellion.

Mr. Thornton Hunt forcibly and emphatically supported Mr. Holyoake's view; and the Reverend Mr. Duncanson, of Falkirk, a gentleman whose share in the deliberations of the Convention contributed much to elevate its character, also ably confirmed the arguments recited. But, besides these three, the assembly took the other side of the question. From what transpired in debate it appeared that all other members were previously directed to take a course of opposition to that vague Ogre, the Middle Class. It was in vain to reason against foregone determinations. Perhaps it was too much to expect so great a change in opinion as that, Fraternity from being a name should be translated into acts.

Once when Mr. Holyoake was in Newcastle-on-Tyne, he was announced to deliver a political address to the Chartists. He found the placard headed by that astounding line,—

"Awake, arise,—or be for ever fallen!"

He struck the line out, and the innovation was deemed despotism. Mr. Holyoake had seen the same line used in a similar manner fifty times; and, as when it had to be used the second time, it was plain that the people had not awaked or arisen on the first call, it seemed to him absurd to call upon the public to "awake and arise," forty-nine times after they had "fallen for ever." But it seemed quite right to the good Chartist of that sulphurous district. It was what they had been accustomed to, and, therefore, they clung to it. In the same spirit the Convention adhered, in the matter of the middle class, to the spirit of that policy to which they had been accustomed; but in other respects, to be recounted next week, they did many things to which they had not been accustomed, which redounds to their credit and to the public service.

As far as the upper classes are concerned it matters little what tone the Convention held: it was only of importance as far as the progress of the people is in question. Nobody cares to conciliate the middle class. The middle class are not wiser than the working classes, and will probably misinterpret the feeling which holds out the flag of fraternity in sight of their camps. We ought to be both above their misinterpretation and their indifference, if such exist, and confine ourselves to our own line of duty. If the middle class have unity and purpose they can do very well without the working class. They can govern whenever they take it in their heads, in spite either of the aristocracy or the people. It is only the absence of class enthusiasm among them that leaves them in any way in need of the popular voice. As matters stand we may consider fraternity a pure question of duty on our part, which will bring advantages higher than policy.

THE JOHN-STREET INSTITUTION.—On Monday evening the eleventh anniversary of this institution was celebrated by a supper and ball. Mr. G. J. Holyoake delivered an address, in which it appeared that the institution had gained £100 during the past half year. Thomas Cooper, W. D. Saul, Mr. Green, Mr. Hanhart, and J. Cramp took part in the proceedings, speaking in favour of the erection of a larger institution.

MEMOIR OF ROBERTSON.—A soirée in celebration of the memory of this statesman was held at John-street on Tuesday evening; various addresses were delivered on the occasion.

REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—It must be remembered that the election takes place on April 16. There is only one candidate, so that the votes must be taken as to whether he is a fit and proper person. If a majority vote the affirmative he is then elected. Those who wish to have balls, &c., at Easter, ought to have their arrangements completed by this. Leeds has been unable to procure a suitable room, and is compelled to postpone it till Whitsuntide. Moneys received for the week ending April 7, 1851:—Leeds, £1 4s. 11d.; Halifax, per Mr. Chaffer, £5 10s. 10d.; Coventry, per Mr. Shuffelbotham, £1 6s.; Huddersfield, per Mr. France, 10s.; Bradford, per Mr. Boys, 10s. Communal Building Fund:—Halifax, per Mr. Chaffer, 7s. 9d.



Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

REPLY TO MR. SPENCER'S VIEWS ON PROPERTY.

London, March 24, 1851.

SIR,—Will you allow me to occupy a small space in your Open Council to reply to the views of Mr. Spencer, quoted in No. 52 of the *Reader*, in relation to the social possession and use of property?

Allowing it to be true, as Mr. Spencer observes, that there would be "a breach of equity" in awarding to every man, irrespective of the amount and quality of his labour, an equal share in the produce obtained—this does not in the least invalidate the social view of the case. This social view presupposes conditions which Mr. Spencer, in common with its opponents generally, overlooks.

It presupposes for those who are associated socially—

1st. That they have placed themselves, or have been placed, in a position in which they can practically follow out the injunction to "love one another," without injury to themselves.

2nd. That they are all actuated by the social or truly Christian spirit which will cause every one in whom it has been produced, to desire for all others every benefit which he desires for himself; and which will impel each individual to do, and to feel pleasure in doing, the best in his power to perform a due proportion of the work of the society, or association of societies, of which he is a member.

3rd. That labour, both by the agreeable accessories by which it will be the study of wise social communities to surround it, and by the earnest desire of each individual to be useful to his associates and to be respected and loved by them, will be made agreeable and voluntary.

4th. That, by well-ordered arrangements, the production of a full amount of produce of various kinds, to supply all plentifully, will be made easy and certain.

Under these conditions—and it may easily be shown that by a right course of proceeding they may with facility be realized for any possible number of well-ordered communities—old world considerations of mere "rights and duties" (which, however, will be useful transition-checks upon selfishness) will give place to the social or truly Christian consideration of the happiness of all; and men, women, and children will have no more disposition to higgie over, or measure out, the exact proportion to which each is entitled by what he has done (with strength and skill which he did not himself create), than brothers and sisters, with true brotherly and sisterly feelings, or well-bred companions in a friendly pic-nic, would now scramble for the largest share in a repast in which there was more than enough for all, or would be greedily required by the largest contributors to the general provision, to give to them the best or the largest platefuls.

Mr. Spencer, also, in his argument from the instinct of acquisitiveness, overlooks the influences which cultivated reason and social feelings, combined with wisely-ordered social arrangements, will exercise over the instincts of educated human beings: an influence which will make that species of individual accumulation for which men so eagerly struggle in the present low mental and moral state and ill-ordered social condition, as needless and undesired as the bottling up and hiding away of water would now be where there is a perpetual abundant spring open to all. Acquisitiveness will then have nothing to do in the present mere selfish direction, but to collect what is required for the personal wants of each; but, acting in concert with caution, its near neighbour in the brain, and, with the social feelings, it will impel mankind to accumulate a general provision against such contingencies as may then be deemed possible.

An examination of the facts which have been exhibited by the various incomplete systems of co-operation which have already existed (and especially of the very imperfect cooperative communities now existing in the United States of North America, and which, notwithstanding their great imperfections, are most successful in producing general union, good feelings and conduct, and abundant wealth for all their members), and a due consideration of the effects of knowledge and improved circumstances upon human nature, and of the experience which has been acquired of the causes of good and evil, and of the means of preventing the evil and producing the good, together with an acquaintance with the enormous productive powers which society now possesses—are the grounds upon which the preceding statements are confidently made, and upon which it is confidently believed that the "Divine scheme" is something far more elevated for man, than a low struggle for mere selfish accumulation and gratification, or the government of mankind by mere calculations of "equity."

HENRY TRAVIS.

ROMANIST LIBERALITY.

Manchester, April 7, 1851.

SIR,—I am one of those who greatly admire the courage with which you have fought for the rights of Roman Catholics, as you would have done for those of Protestants had they been similarly assailed. But it is well that those who think with us should know the real opinions of Romanists themselves on the great question of Toleration, or more properly of the right of every man to form his own religious creed. With this view I would call attention to an article in the *Rambler* for March last, entitled "How shall we meet the Protestant Aggression?" contenting myself with here quoting the concluding sentences of that article:—"All that we plead against is the adoption, in any measure, of that preposterous cant of the age that the secular power, as such, is bound by its duty to God to extend equal toleration to all religions, irrespective of the peculiar circumstances which may attach to each separate case. To say that every man has a right to adopt such religious creed as he pleases, is untrue; to say also that the temporal power is never called upon to put obstacles in the way of the propagation of religious errors, is also untrue; but it is perfectly true that the English law professes to tolerate us; and on that ground, as well as on our indefeasible rights as the only true church, while we meddle not with the claims of the sects about us, we take our stand." The italics are as in the original. I abstain from comment. Yours, &c., M. E. N.

THE MANNER IN WHICH ANTI-PAPAL PETITIONS ARE GOT UP.

SIR,—I am resident in a large drapery house at the West End, and have just happened to witness how bigotry gets up petitions against the liberties of the People. Two large imposing-looking sheets of paper, with a grand flourish as a heading, were placed on a table at the upper end of the shop, to which the shopmen were called and directed to attach their signatures. The great majority did so, without inquiring into the nature of the petition; others seemed proud of the opportunity of signaling themselves by signing their names to a document which would go up to Parliament; and two or three of the more reflecting refused. The boys, porters, and servants were then called forward, and told that the object of the petition was to prevent the Pope from coming to burn them in Smithfield. Of course they signed their names with terrified eagerness.

I observed also that the petition contained nearly twice as many names as there were persons employed in the establishment, which clearly proved that fictitious names had been added. If this be the way in which petitions are generally got up, they are of very little value as indicators of public feeling.

Your obedient servant, F. R.

PRIZE ESSAYS.

19, Mulberry-terrace, Leeds, March 23, 1851.

SIR,—I have noticed with pleasure the propositions for competitive Essays by your Constant Reader. I was desirous of making an effort, but was deterred by not comprehending with sufficient clearness the conditions on which the prizes are to be awarded; and I think a more detailed statement of the subject would be of service in enabling competitors to ground the precise question they are to treat.

Being a working mechanic, I can assure you that opportunities like the present are of great value to those among us who are incapacitated by a higher taste from enjoying a tap-room resort; while our social position excludes us from those ranks of society from whose intelligence we might hope to profit; refusing acceptance of the former, and the latter being inaccessible, a part of our surplus time would be well employed in the relaxation literary effort affords from manual toil.

Yours respectfully,

JNO. WEDDELL.

All goods are purchased at the first markets for ready money.
Address, Lloyd Jones, Manager, 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

ROSSI'S MARINE TINCTURE, for STAINING the HAIR a beautiful Brown or Black, in a few minutes, without staining the skin. The tincture applied by contract if required, or sold in bottles, 5s. 6d., 10s. 6d., and 21s.—Sole Inventor, LOUIS ROSSI, Coiffeur, 254, Regent-street. Saloons for Hair Cutting and Dressing. On parle Français.

STAYS SUPERSEDED.—Stiff Stays destroy natural grace, produce deformity, and implant disease, curvature of the spine, and consumption; and a host of evils arise from their use. A substitute is provided by MARTIN'S ELASTIC BODICE, or Anti-Consumption Corset, which is perfectly elastic, is without whalebone, furnishes a good support, is easy and graceful in wear, will wash, is unaffected by heat or cold; has a simple fastening, obviating the trouble of lacing. Can be sent post-free for a small additional charge. A prospectus and engraving sent on receipt of a stamp for postage.—E. and E. H. MARTIN, Surgical Bandage Makers, 504, Oxford-street, London, near the British Museum.

EXHIBITION AUCTION HALL.
INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION SALON, AND
FOREIGNERS' REUNION.

MESSRS. EDWARDS AND COMPANY have at length completed arrangements, by which they are enabled to offer to the Exhibitors and Visitors at the approaching Great Exhibition, facilities and accommodation, which are not contemplated or provided by the Royal Commission. They have accepted tenders from Messrs. J. W. Jackson, of Gracechurch-street, for the erection of a Superb Building of Iron, containing a Grand Auction-hall, Magnificent Refreshment-rooms, and an Exhibition Salon. They propose to introduce into this country, not merely for the purposes of the Exhibition, but as a permanent course of business, the American system of disposal of consignments, direct from the manufacturer, by the hammer.

They intend by a continued Auction during the Exhibition to dispose of the most valuable products of all nations. Their arrangements also contemplate the sale by hand, over the counter, of the rarest works of Art and Skill. They have provided for the accommodation of visitors to the Exhibition Splendid Refreshment-rooms, in which will be dispensed, as well, Wines of the highest and most novel character, as also Fruits, the produce of the Choicest Gardens, and comestibles generally, the character of which is guaranteed by the fact that they have secured the services of the "Premier Chef." No expense has been spared by Messrs. Edwards and Company in the adaptation of their splendid premises at the West-end for the purposes of a Reunion, whereat the Learned, Scientific, Manufacturing, and Commercial representatives of the whole World may meet to cultivate a kindly intimacy, and exchange valuable information.

Messrs. Edwards and Company have ample City Premises, Warehouse, and Warehouses for the deposit of goods and the transaction of Custom House business. They have also secured for the benefit of their Consignors, the valuable services of Messrs. John Hampden and Company, and have, at the same time, retained Legal Gentlemen, whose high standing and character constitute a voucher for the safety of the interests committed to their care.

Parties desirous of obtaining information as to the course of business intended to be adopted by Messrs. Edwards and Company, may apply for Prospectuses at the Offices of Messrs. John Hampden and Company, 418, West Strand, where the preliminary business will be conducted.

FRESH ARRIVAL OF SUGAR and SNOW-CURED SPANISH HAMS, ONLY 8d. per lb.—**GEORGE OSBORNE** has much pleasure in intimating to his kind and Patrons and the Public generally, that he has again received through his Agent in Galicia a large quantity of the above justly-celebrated Hams, so perfectly unique in point of delicious flavour and quality, that from the numerous testimonials he has received, they are truly pronounced to be, par excellence, the choicest delicacy of the kind of the present day. His Galician Agent, however, states that, on account of the scarcity of Hams of this quality in the market, an advance has been made in the price; but notwithstanding this, George Osborne will be enabled to supply his customers at the above moderate charge. G. O. earnestly solicits an inspection of his large and superior Stock of Provisions, comprising his

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